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BUYING VICTORIES UPON TICK;

OR,

AFFAIRS OF BELGIUM AND PORTUGAL.

*To the Readers of THE REGISTER.**Kensington, August 2nd, 1831.*

MY FRIENDS,

ALL of you who are about twenty-five years of age or upwards remember the scenes of 1814 and 1815, when the vain, the stupid, the pride-choked NAPOLEON had produced his own ruin, and prepared the way for his just punishment, by making kings to grind the people whom the brave and generous French nation fought to deliver from kings; that speedy and just punishment which he merited for the empty and contemptible vanity which he discovered, and for the gross insult which he offered to the people of France, in casting off his French wife and in bringing to reign over the French a woman sprung from the family of the Austrian despots. You remember the scenes in those memorable years of the triumph of the tithe and tax eaters of England. You remember the multitudes of sheep and oxen that were roasted whole. You remember the glorious achievements of the Serpentine river; and you ought now to know that you continue to pay the interest of three hundred thousand pounds expended in those memorable celebrations. You remember that when the allies were carried to Paris the second time by our money, old BANKS said, in the House of Commons, that he hoped

that the works of the Fine Arts, brought from other countries would not now be left in the twice-conquered city of Paris. You remember that when CASTLEREAGH, after having carried on the negotiations for the stripping of the museums; for taking from France her frontier towns; for laying her under tribute to England and other countries; for taking Belgium from her, and for erecting fortifications in that quarter to keep her in check for ever; you remember that when he returned, after the performance of these exploits, the House of Commons received him, the whole of the Members standing up, with hats off, and making a general *clapping of hands*, little dreaming, I dare say, that this object of their adoration would, in less than eight years from that day, actually cut his own throat and kill himself, at the village of North Cray, in Kent.

Well do you remember those days of tax and tithe eating exultation; and those of you who were my readers then will equally well remember, that while every other public writer in the country joined in the exultation, and held forth a prospect of lasting benefits from the deeds and the results of the war, I, on the contrary, expressed my sorrow for those deeds and for that result, and that I predicted that in the end they must produce evils of which no man could calculate the extent. Even at the very time when the sheep and oxen were roasting, I said the nation would have to weep for an age for its three months of mad exultation: it has wept from that day to this, and its weeping is by no means at an end.

The substance of my remarks at that time was this: that we had in fact WON no victories; that we had BOUGHT a parcel of victories; that we had bought them ON TICK; that we were unable to pay for them; and that to pay the INTEREST of the purchase money would keep us in such a poor and beggared state as to make

us unable to carry on new wars ; and that therefore the parcel of victories would be taken from us piece by piece, by some or other of the nations of the world. Since that, in the year 1822, only a month before CASTLEREAGH cut his own throat, I told the people of Kent that they ought to petition for a reduction of the interest of the debt ; for that the *figure of eight*, with the eight noughts to the right-hand of it, told the King of England that he never should go to war again while they were in existence.

Now then, my friends, pray read attentively a thing called a debate, which took place in the House of Lords on the 26th of July, and which I am about to insert here. It is a long talk ; but it is on a matter of very great importance. You will recollect that, after the peace of 1815, and the sending of NAPOLEON to St. Helena, where he died of an "*hereditary cancer* ;" you will recollect that after this immense sums of our money were laid out to erect fortresses in Belgium, in order to protect the kingdom of the Netherlands and the north of Germany against future invasions on the part of the French ; and you will also further recollect that our great Prince of Waterloo was appointed to go at stated periods to inspect the said fortresses, in order to insure their being kept constantly in a proper state, he having an estate settled on him in the Netherlands, worth two thousand pounds a year, by way of compliment, I suppose, for this important service. Thus, as the Holy Alliance thought, things were made safe for ever : the French were for ever completely kept in check on the side of Belgium, in the north of Germany, in which latter are situate precious and beloved *Hanover*, and scarcely less precious and beloved *Brunswick* and *Hesse*, and *Saxe Weimar*, and the rest of that incomparable set of royal dominions.

Last year, however, came the Polignac revolution at Paris ; and in forty-eight hours the people of Paris, by acts of bravery which ought to make every oppressed and tame people blush themselves to death ; in forty-eight hours

the bravery of the people of Paris blew all these contrivances of the Holy Alliance into the air, and sent them like dust before the wind. A revolution in Belgium followed that in France. The two nations were eager to be reunited. The holy allies dreaded this union : our pretty gentlemen saw Hanover, Brunswick, &c. &c. at the north of Europe, in danger : and that very same reason the French nation wished for the union ; but France has a debt and loan-mongers and stock-jobbers as well as we : Louis-Philippe has immense masses of private property and of money. His present and his last Prime Minister are bankers and loan-mongers : war, however necessary to the nation, and however glorious, must be destruction to loan-mongering and to the present set of fund-holders in France : the French Government, therefore, did not yield to the wishes of the French people and to the people of Belgium ; but joined Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England in negotiations for sticking up a something that should make Belgium continue to be a separate state from France ; and, as you know very well, our Saxe-Cobourg is gone to be King of Belgium, placing his fifty-thousand-pounds-a-year pension in trust, to be partly employed to keep up the park and gardens at Claremont in good order, and to keep the house well aired. Thus all was comfortably settled, and would have remained so until the French should have grown tired of their present government, which might not have been, and which may not yet be, for some months to come ; but about a fortnight ago LOUIS-PHILIPPE had to open his Parliament, and it was necessary for him to say something upon the score of Belgium ; and he told the French, by way of showing that he had not neglected them, that King COBOURG was not to join the German confederation ; and that the fortresses which had been erected to threaten France "WERE TO BE DEMOLISHED." This was, it seems, letting the cat too soon out of the bag to suit our people. What ! Demolish the fortresses of the "Hero of Waterloo !" As soon as this



news reached England, the opposition began to lay on upon the Ministers on the subject; and this laying on and the defence of the Ministers you will see in the following report of the debate.

At the same time, the Wellingtonians looked in the recent transactions in Portugal, to which the French have sent a squadron, and brought King MIGUEL upon his marrow-bones, for having done something severe to some Frenchmen in Portugal; as severe perhaps, though I do not believe it, as the things which are done to what are called libellers in England. It is notorious that Englishmen have complained most bitterly of their severe treatment by King MIGUEL; and it is equally notorious that they have never got any redress that we have heard of: the Waterlooers therefore complain that our Ministry has thus suffered the King of Portugal to be thus domineered over by the French.

Now, then, keeping in mind what I have said above about *purchasing victories upon tick*; keeping in mind what I told the people of Kent about the figure of eight and the eight noughts on the right hand of it; keeping these things in mind, I beg you, my friends, to read this debate with the greatest possible attention; to remark what was said in defence of the Ministry by Lord GREY; to observe well what was said by Waterloo's hero; but particularly to notice what was said by Lord GREY in defence of the Ministry; and then your minds will carry you back to the roasting of oxen and sheep, to the boundless expectations of the parsons and the tax-eaters in 1814, and to the nasty she-tax-eaters who flocked round his hotel, and who came galloping up from the country to lick the drivel off the beard of "old Blucher," and who crowded to get a touch of the hem of the garment of the "magnanimous Alexander," who authorised the burning of the city of Moscow; your minds will then carry you back to those scenes of exultation in England, and will recall my warnings to the exulting and thoughtless crowd whom I told that they were rejoicing at that which had crippled their

own country for ever, unless renovated by something that should sweep away the system then existing. Now read the debate; and do, pray, remark the feeble defence made by Lord GREY.

BELGIUM AND PORTUGAL.

The Earl of ABERDEEN rose to put some questions to his Majesty's Ministers relative to some topics which had been introduced into the Speech of the King of the French, addressed to the French Chambers on their assembling for their first Session. That Speech contained matters which had very much excited his surprise, and he believed the surprise of their Lordships, and of the country in general. And he confessed that the astonishment at some of the topics touched upon in that Speech was not at all diminished by a consideration of the terms in which these topics were mentioned. The Speech referred to two subjects, which were of the utmost importance in regard to the interests and the dignity of this country, and to the general state and policy of Europe; and he thought it not unreasonable to call upon his Majesty's Ministers for some explanation on the subject in question. He had some time ago called the attention of their Lordships to the subject of the policy pursued by his Majesty's Ministers in regard to Portugal. He had then stated that this country was more connected by treaties with Portugal than with any other power, and that from these treaties this country derived very great advantages, in consideration of protection to be afforded by us to Portugal, and that we were bound by these treaties to defend the independence of the kingdom of Portugal against the aggression of other powers. And he had, therefore, strongly urged his Majesty's Ministers to use their best exertions for the protection of that country, and argued, that unless they did this, they would place this country in a situation of extreme difficulty, which would probably lead to some very serious calamity. He had stated that Portugal was then threatened with war on the part of France, and that it was the policy and the duty of this country to avert that war by every proper means in our power. The war which he had anticipated had now arrived, and the French fleet had made itself master of the Tagus; and it did not appear that any representation or remonstrance had been made by the Government of this country to prevent this aggression. Nay, perhaps, it was considered by the noble Earl and his friends as a matter of congratulation, that the French fleet had entered the Tagus, and made itself master of the capital city of our ancient ally. (Hear, hear.) His first question, then, was—whether the noble Earl was willing to lay on their Lordships' Table copies of any correspondence and communications which had taken

place between Portugal and France with reference to the proceedings lately resorted to by France with regard to Portugal; and also of any correspondence and communications which had taken place on the same subject between France and this country? That was the first point to which he had been anxious to call their Lordships' attention. The other topic was certainly not more important than the one to which he had adverted; but the way in which it was mentioned in the Speech of the King of the French excited quite as much, if not more astonishment. Their Lordships would probably have anticipated that he meant to allude to the demolition of the fortifications on the French and Belgic frontiers—fortifications which had been erected at the expense of so much money and so much blood on the part of this country in particular. (Hear, hear.) These fortifications had been erected as a barrier for the protection of the kingdom of the Netherlands and the North of Europe, by this country and other Powers, by whom the safety of the kingdom of the Netherlands was guaranteed; and yet they were now to be demolished for no good reason that had as yet appeared, for these would not have stood in the way of the guarantee of the independence of the kingdom of Belgium, but would, on the contrary, have added strength to that guarantee. They were constructed under the authority of some of the principal European Powers, and their existence and the manner in which they were to be garrisoned had been provided for by Treaties. This being the case, it was to be supposed that there was some treaty, some conversation or act, by which it had been agreed among the Powers that these fortresses should be demolished, and a new arrangement made in regard to the security of the Belgic frontiers. The second question then which he had to put to the noble Earl was, whether he had any objection to lay on the Table of the House the Treaty or Act of diplomacy by which it had been agreed to demolish these fortresses, which had, as he before stated, been erected for the defence of the Netherlands and the north of Europe, and the demolition of which appeared so extraordinary and uncalled for?

EARL GREY: In any explanation which he might think it proper to give of the transactions to which the noble Earl had adverted, he would not be provoked either by the noble Earl's reasons or his sneers (hear, hear) to deviate from that course which he had uniformly followed when called upon to make premature disclosures on subjects of great political importance, with reference to which discussions were still pending. He would be fully prepared, however, to defend the conduct of his Majesty's Ministers if the noble Earl or any of his friends should make a motion so as to force a premature discussion of these topics—they taking upon themselves the responsibility of the course which they might choose to adopt, and of the consequences which it might produce. With respect to the noble

Earl's question on the subject of Portugal—was it a question or an attack on his Majesty's Ministers? (Hear, hear.) He had now to state, as he had stated on a former occasion, that he acknowledged the obligations imposed on this country by the treaties with Portugal; but he said now, as he had said then, that the obligation did not extend so far as to support Portugal against the hostility of another power to which Portugal had persisted in refusing the satisfaction which was properly and justly due to that power. This country was not bound to support Portugal in a war which on the side of Portugal should be manifestly unjust. He did not now enter into any discussion of the general subject, nor did the noble Earl himself appear to think that he would be expected to do so, for his question was, whether his Majesty's Ministers would consent to lay on their Lordships' table some information as to the correspondence and communications which had taken place between France, Portugal, and this country, with reference to the late proceedings of the French Government with respect to Portugal. To that question his answer was, that when the proper time should arrive, he would not be unwilling to give the required information. At present, however, he did not feel himself called upon to afford this information, since it must relate to matters which were subjects of discussion between this country and other powers; and, therefore, prematurely to lay on the table the papers to which the noble Earl adverted, might be attended with serious inconvenience, if not with public mischief. But then the noble Earl had said, that the entry of the French fleet into the Tagus, and the taking possession of the Portuguese capital by the French, might perhaps be to him (Earl Grey) matter of congratulation. He (Earl Grey) repelled the imputation with the disdain which it merited, whether coming from the noble Earl or any one else. There was no man in this House, or in the British dominions, who was more sensibly alive to the honour of the country than he was; but the state of things between Portugal and France did not appear to the Government of this country such as to call for its interference upon any principle of policy or diplomatic obligation. The second question of the noble Earl related to the subject of the demolition of the fortresses on the Belgic and French frontiers; and the noble Earl called for an explanation relative to this astounding intelligence. To this he replied, that when it was found impossible to preserve the union of Holland and Belgium as one Kingdom, and when a separation became necessary, it was considered by the powers that a new arrangement in regard to these fortresses might be expedient, if not necessary. As to the documents connected with this new arrangement, he was not willing to lay them on the table, as that arrangement had not been finally settled, but was still under discussion. But while he deprecated the production of papers relating to subjects

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in regard to which discussions were still pending, yet he was of opinion that he might produce the particular diplomatic act by which four of the powers engaged in the conference had agreed to make such a new arrangement in respect of the fortresses as the altered state of affairs appeared to justify and call for; and he, therefore, anticipating that the noble Earl's questions would involve the subject of these fortresses, had come down to the House prepared to read the Diplomatic Act in question. A protocol, or resolution, relative to this subject, of date the 17th of April, had been agreed upon by four of the powers engaged in the conferences relative to the settlement of Belgium. The four powers to which he had alluded, were Russia, Austria, Prussia, and this country—France being, for obvious reasons, excluded. The protocol in question stated that the plenipotentiaries of the four powers having met, and their attention having been called to the subject of the fortresses which had been erected on the frontiers of the Netherlands, they were unanimously of opinion, that as soon as the separation between Holland and Belgium should be effected, a new arrangement should take place in regard to those fortresses, and that the independence of Belgium should be provided for and guaranteed upon a new principle and under a new system. They were of opinion that a part of these fortresses might be razed; and it was agreed that when the fitting time and opportunity should arrive, the representatives of the four powers should meet, and settle which of the fortresses should be demolished. This was the Diplomatic Act by which it had been agreed that some of the fortresses should be demolished; but which of them should be demolished he could not tell, since that matter had not been finally arranged. It was supposed that the altered circumstances in which Belgium was placed, rendered it expedient that some of these fortresses should be demolished; and it was to be a matter of future consideration and negotiation what part of them was to be demolished, and which of them. This protocol was communicated to the French Government by a letter signed by the representatives of the four powers, and addressed to Prince Talleyrand; and the letter expressed the hope of the four powers that France would consider this as a new proof of the confidence which they reposed in the Government of that country. These were the facts of the case as far as this country was concerned. He would not at present enter into any discussion as to the grounds on which the four powers had acted in considering the subject of these fortresses, as negotiations and discussions were still pending in respect to them. But when the proper time came, and the whole subject should be fully laid before their Lordships, he felt confident that he could fully satisfy their Lordships and the nation in general, that, neither with respect to Portugal nor with respect to these fortresses, had his Majesty's Ministers done any thing unfavour-

able to the best interests of this country, or derogatory to its honour and dignity.

The Duke of WELLINGTON: He would be the last man in the world to require of his Majesty's Ministers prematurely to lay before this House or the public any information, the immediate production of which might be of serious injury to the public service. But as he had been connected with the arrangements by which these fortresses were to be erected and garrisoned, he felt himself called upon to set himself and his country right before the world, with respect to the part which they had taken in these transactions. It had been agreed by the Ministry of 1814, and other powers, that these fortresses should be erected and garrisoned, so as to form a barrier of defence against France to the kingdom of the Netherlands and the north of Europe, and the expense of all this was to be borne by Great Britain and Holland. But at the time of the treaty of Paris, it was agreed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, that part of the French contributions due to them should be applied towards the erection and proper maintenance of these fortifications. These powers who thus bore the expense of erecting these fortresses, were certainly those to whom the fortresses belonged. France had done nothing whatever in regard to these fortifications, except in applying part of the contributions due to other powers, towards defraying the expense of their erection and maintenance. When the revolution had upset the kingdom of the Netherlands, the settlement of the Belgic territory became a subject of conference between this country and some of the other great powers of Europe; and France was called upon to assist at these conferences. It was reasonable, under the circumstances, that a separation should be effected between Holland and Belgium, and that a separate arrangement should be made for Belgium. He admitted that these things were reasonable, and no power had reason to complain, as all the powers had agreed to guarantee the independence of Belgium; and France, least of all, had any reason to complain, as she was secured from aggression on the side of Belgium by the guarantee of all the powers, that Belgium should be considered as a neutral territory. France being thus secured, had the least reason of all the powers to call for a demolition of these fortresses. The King of France had contributed nothing towards the expense of erecting and maintaining of the fortifications, and therefore the Government of that country had nothing to do with them. He admitted that the other powers, who had been at the expense of erecting and upholding the fortresses, had a right to agree that some of them should be demolished, if they thought proper, and he was glad to find, from the information given this night by the noble Earl, that the subject was taken up by the four powers, to the exclusion of France; but he exceedingly regretted that the King of Holland was not called upon to assist at that con-

ference (hear, hear, from the opposition benches), considering how very materially that conference concerned him and the interests of his country. It was true that the powers had agreed to guarantee the independence and neutrality of Belgium; but it was not sufficient merely to guarantee the independence and neutrality of Belgium. They ought to have given that country sufficient strength to protect itself and to preserve its own independence; and therefore the guarantee did not by any means supersede the use of the fortresses. (Hear, hear.) This was his own view of the subject. These fortresses had been erected for the purposes of forming a barrier for the Netherlands and the north of Europe, and not with the intention of affording the means of aggression upon France; and he was anxious to relieve himself and his country from the imputation that they ever intended these fortifications as an instrument of aggression. He repeated, that the object of the erecting and the maintaining of these fortresses was to afford the means of defence against France, and not of aggression upon France. Then, as to the subject of Portugal, he was very much concerned that the noble Earl had not afforded some information with respect to the causes of the unfortunate situation in which that country was placed. He confessed that when he heard of the invasion of Portugal by the fleets of France, without any appearance of any opposition, or even remonstrance, having been made by the Government of this country against the aggression, he, as an Englishman, felt ashamed and humiliated at the circumstance. He said that he felt ashamed of it as an Englishman, not as one connected, as he was, with the army, of whose noble acts Portugal had been so often the scene. The exploits of the army in that country were imperishable. (Hear, hear.) They were matter of history, and nothing could tarnish them. (Hear, hear.) But he confessed that, as an Englishman, he deeply regretted that the Government of this country had not taken some steps to save Portugal from this humiliating aggression on the part of France. He was aware of the difficulty which the Government had encountered in endeavouring to procure a satisfactory explanation and settlement with reference to the circumstances which had occasioned this proceeding on the part of France. But these circumstances were of themselves exceedingly trifling. Two individuals, natives of France, had been tried somewhere in Portugal, exactly in the usual and legal course of proceedings in that country, and had been condemned, and this condemnation appeared to the French Government to be unjust. This was the whole ground and reason for the commencement of hostilities by France against Portugal. In his opinion, the influence of this country ought to have been exerted with the Portuguese Government to make reparation for this injustice, if injustice there was, and that the same influence ought to have

been exerted with the French Government to prevent any serious aggression by France on Portugal for a cause so very trifling. It might, as appeared to him, have been represented to the French Government with effect, that the cause of offence was really not worth the expense of any serious effort to procure redress, while it was very likely that a hostile aggression on Portugal would be attended with great injury to this country, and even to France; and might endanger the peace of Europe. It was the duty of the Government of this country to take every step in their power to save Portugal from this humiliating disaster. It ought to have been considered that Portugal had been our most ancient and firmest ally—that the alliance between this country and Portugal had been older and more constant than any alliance between any two countries in the world. Portugal had been of the greatest advantage to this country, and had lately, at three or four different times, been the scenes of the highest glory of this country, when its armies fought on Portuguese ground, not merely for the defence of Portugal, but for the preservation of the liberties and independence of Europe; and now at last the enemy was allowed to take possession of the capital of Portugal without even a remonstrance having been made by this country against it. The noble Earl did not pretend that he had refrained from interfering on the ground of a defect in the title of Don Miguel to the throne of Portugal; and indeed he could not shelter himself under any such pretence, for it was only a few months ago that he himself had demanded and received satisfaction from Don Miguel for injustice done by the Portuguese Government to certain of the subjects of this country. By that proceeding he had recognised the title of Don Miguel to the throne; and having obtained the satisfaction which he demanded, he ought, upon the common principle of reciprocity, to have averted this attack on Portugal. But setting that ground aside, and looking only to the best interests and truest policy of this country, there was no nation in Europe whose alliance and independence ought to be so dear to this country as the alliance and independence of Portugal. (Hear, hear.) And yet, while a bill was depending in Parliament for putting an end to the commercial treaties between this country and Portugal, we allowed Lisbon to be taken possession of by an enemy without even a remonstrance on the part of the Government of this country against it! And would Portugal again look to this country for protection? Would not the Portuguese authorities say, "We have lost all advantage from our commercial connexion with England: we can no longer trust to her for protection: we will therefore put an end to our connexion with England and declare for France." This would be a consummation devoutly to be wished for by France; and there could be little doubt but that the French Government would be very ready to undertake the protection of Por-

negotial in return for the advantages to be derived from an alliance with this country. He was sorry to have troubled their Lordships at so much length on this subject, but it was one on which he felt deeply, and he could not help considering this invasion of Portugal, without even a remonstrance on the part of this country against it, as one of the greatest misfortunes which had ever happened to this country. It was to himself one of the most serious subjects of regret that he had met with in the whole course of his life.

EARL GREY: The noble Duke had a very great advantage over him in the present discussion, if discussion it might be called, as it was impossible for him, on this occasion, to enter into any discussion on the general question, as that would effect negotiations which were still pending. He was very unwilling to anticipate the discussion which, at a proper season, must take place on the general merits of the subject; and he would not anticipate it if he could possibly avoid it. He would, in the mean time, content himself with saying, that none of the circumstances connected with the entrance of the French fleet into the Tagus could form a reasonable ground for that feeling of humiliation with which the noble Duke represented himself as being affected, although the state of things which had produced that feeling might be a proper subject of regret. Whether the policy or the honour of this country had been at all compromised by that transaction would come to be considered when the noble Duke or any of his friends on that side of the House, should bring the subject regularly under discussion by a motion. The noble Duke had said, that the causes of this proceeding on the part of the French Government were light and trivial. As to that, all that he would say at present was, that points in themselves light and trivial might become matters of the highest importance as connected with the honour of a country, and of much more importance than points which in themselves were of much more weight and consequence. The Portuguese Government had committed acts of injustice in relation to some subjects of France, and for this the French Government thought that it was imperative upon it, in point of honour, to demand explanation and satisfaction. That satisfaction had been obstinately refused; and the French Government had sent a squadron to the mouth of the Tagus to enforce its demand. That squadron had entered the Tagus, and then the satisfaction had at length been given, as the French Government had been informed by a telegraphic dispatch. This was all that the Government of this country knew of the matter. [The Earl of Aberdeen shook his head.] The noble Earl might shake his head at this; but whatever communications the noble Earl had received on the subject, he (Earl Grey) might be allowed to say, that he knew as much or more of the matter than the noble Earl did. The noble Duke called the entrance of the French fleet into the Tagus an *invasion* of Portugal.

But he (Earl Grey) was not aware that the French squadron had any troops on board, or that the entrance into the Tagus had anything of the character of an invasion. The squadron had entered the river in order to enforce a demand of satisfaction for a particular injury. That demand had at last been complied with, and there the matter rested. He laboured at present under a great disadvantage in discussing this subject, because he did not feel himself at liberty to bring the whole merits of the case before their Lordships; but when the time came that he could lay before them full and ample information on the subject, he felt no apprehension but that he would be able most completely to relieve his Majesty's Government from any reproach on account of their conduct with reference to this transaction. In the mean time he appealed to the candour of their Lordships and the country, and only requested of them to suspend their judgment until the whole case was brought fully and fairly before them. As to the bill now pending on the subject of our commercial relations with Portugal, to which the noble Duke had adverted, he was prepared to show that such a bill was called for by a regard to the real interests of Portugal as well as of this country. With respect to the Belgic fortresses, he (Earl Grey) believed that it was the intention of the noble Duke, and of those with whom he acted, to make these fortresses a barrier for the defence of the Netherlands and the North of Europe, and not to set them up as the means of aggression and insult in relation to France; but still the alteration in the state of Belgium justified a new arrangement in regard to those fortresses, more particularly as the independence and neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the several Powers who had been parties to the conferences. Although the design of setting up and maintaining these fortresses was not to insult France, or to provide the means of aggression on France, yet there were reasons why France should feel dissatisfied at the continuance of the whole of them. But the question was, whether, under the new state of things, it was worth while to maintain the whole of these fortresses, and whether it was possible for a country like Belgium to keep them properly garrisoned; whether they really could be of much importance as a means of defence against aggression on the part of France, and whether the guarantee by the five Powers of the independence and neutrality of Belgium was not a much better security for Belgium than these fortresses? Great doubts had been entertained by very competent judges at the time when these fortresses were erected, whether they would really be of any great use for effecting the purpose for which they were intended. In a military point of view, he, of course, could not set his authority against that of the noble Duke; but considering the matter in a political point of view, he was of opinion at the time that these fortresses would be of very little use in effecting their intended

purpose; and he was satisfied that, under the altered circumstances of Belgium, they could hardly be of any use. Politically considered, they conduced nothing to the real strength of Belgium; for, in case of a war between that country and France, there could hardly be a doubt but that they would be in the hands of France in the course of the first week of the campaign. Let it be recollected that the agreement between the Four Powers did not extend to the demolition of the whole of the fortresses, but only to the demolition of some of them; and it still remained to be considered how many and which of them should be demolished. In the mean time, he had only to say, that he would be ready to show at the proper time that a new arrangement in regard to these fortresses was expedient, and that the new arrangement would place the matter on a much better footing than that on which it had been placed in 1815. This much he thought it sufficient to have said for the present; and in conclusion, he again appealed to the candour and liberality of their Lordships and the country, at least so far as to suspend their judgment until the whole subject should be brought under their view.

"Well!" you will say; "this is a pretty story!" Yes, it is a pretty story to be sure, but just such a story as I taught you to expect. It is the confirmation of a prediction; not a prediction, like those of the bloody old *Times*, coming after the event; but a prediction published sixteen years before that event. All that WELLINGTON and ABERDEEN say about the humble attitude of England, about the dishonour, about the disgrace attached to the transactions: all this is right and true enough; but, Lord GREY had a ready answer, if he had had the pluck to make it; and that answer was this: I found the country without the means of carrying on war; I found the country so loaded with debts and establishments, created by you and by your predecessors in office, that I was unable to prevent that which you complain of; because negotiations, without ships ready to sail and cannons ready loaded, never obtain any thing; and you have left me not the means of sending forth ships and cannons. They might have replied, indeed, that he himself was once in office for fifteen months, and that, during those months, the war was extended and the expenditure augmented. Over this, however, he might have gotten; but he wanted

the pluck to offer this species of defence; because it would have amounted to this, that the debt and the establishments must be greatly reduced, or that England can never again go to war, though the French invade the Isle of Wight, or sail up the Medway and fire the Dock-Yard at Chatham.

The humiliation; the marks of declining power and of national disgrace, have not *begun* now: they have been going on for several years. The quiet cession of the Floridas by Spain to the United States; the invasion and settlement made by the latter on the part of Mexico; the prohibition, on the part of the United States, to England to form any junction with any part of South America; the subjugation of Turkey, the invasion of it and the Dardanelles, and of the channel of Constantinople, and the placing of a squadron in the Levant, by Russia; the invasion of Spain and taking possession of Corunna and Cadiz by the French; the invasion of Africa by the French, and their driving away our old friend, the Dey of Algiers, and seizing his capital and his treasures; all these we saw without even talking of ships and cannons, except, indeed, to assist Russia and the French to cripple our old friend the Turk, and reduce him to submit to their dictation. Then we were brave as knights of the "Guelphic Order!" Then we cried, "Pepper them, Ned!" Then we could boast of a "*glorious victory*."

After all this; after crawling upon our bellies for ten long years, surely these fortresses may go; and surely the French may go to Portugal and demand satisfaction for injury done to her subjects, without inflicting any great pain upon our new sort of honour, which seems to bear beating as silently as a wool-pack. In 1822, or early in 1823, my Lord RADNOR, who was then in the House of Commons, speaking, I believe it was, on a proposition which some petitioners had made for a reduction of the interest of the debt, said, that first or last, such reduction must take place. Upon being almost hooted in consequence of this, he said, "it is at least possible

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"that the nation may be compelled to make this reduction or to be subjugated altogether; and are gentlemen prepared to say that they would see the country invaded and conquered, rather than make a reduction of the debt!"

Having, probably, been nettled by the stupid marks of disapprobation which he had received, and having spoken with great warmth in consequence of this, the saucy, empty-skulled, upstart, insolent CANNING had the audacity to say that the noble Lord's gestures and looks brought to his mind "*the head of Medusa*." The noble Lord's words have, however, been recollected by the people: the question which he then put to the house is now put to himself by every man of sense and reflection who feels for the honour of his country; and Lord GREY may be assured, that, if he cannot find pluck to state the true cause of our disgrace, others will be soon found to do it, and to *remove the cause too!* And here I conclude this part of the subject by addressing to Lord GREY the words which I addressed to him towards the conclusion of a letter dated 8th of January, 1822, and which words were these: "May the land-owners be admonished by what they have already felt, and seek in the revived friendship of the people that security for themselves which I am satisfied they will find in no other source! If a contrary line of conduct were to be pursued; if a refusal of reform were to be still persisted in; if to their deadly and natural foes, the loan-jobbing race, the ancient families were to persist in adding a mass of foes of their own creating, a true picture of all the consequences I forbear to draw. But let it be observed, that if the thing could go on to *the close of the transfer of estates*, the turmoil would not *there end*. The same work of transfer must *still be going on*; the same agitation, the same distress, the same pauperism, the same evils of every description, until the nation, debauched and brutalised, insensible alike to honour and to shame, would be the sport of its hostile neighbours and the scorn of the world. To this

length, however, the thing could not, and cannot go. The native vigour of the nation, the mass of intelligence and of talent it possesses, that love of country which is a passion in the bosom of Englishmen, the recollection, become so galling, of the deeds of their forefathers, would, long before the thing arrived at this point, rouse them to action, and *in some fit of convulsive energy, all the degrading shackles would be snapped in sunder and scattered to the winds.*"

But there is another view of this matter; and that is, that Lord GREY's statement respecting Belgium proves, to the very letter, the truth of my conjectures of last week; namely, that all this expense which has now been incurred about Belgium; that all this uncertainty, and this deadening of trade and commerce, has arisen from a desire to keep the French out of Belgium, not for the sake of the Belgians, because they wished for a union with France; not for the sake of England, because no danger can arise to England from the union; but for the protection of the *north of Germany!* Why do they not say Hanover, Brunswick, and the rest of it, at once? And why do they not say, as Lord GRENVILLE said in 1806, that Hanover ought to be *as dear to us as Hampshire?* What have we to do with Hanover, except to pay officers and their widows that are living there for their services in the last glorious war which has brought us to ruin? We have no more to do with Hanover than the Belgians have to do with the park and gardens and house at Claremont, which used to be called plain Esher Park, before it was tricked off with this foreign appellation. If I were Minister, and found Hanover to be the property of England, as Canada and Nova-Scotia and Prince Edward's Island (unhappily for us) are our property, I should be for selling it to the highest bidder, and bringing the florins to help to pay off the debt that has been contracted in the German wars. I would sell Nova-Scotia and Canada too, and that fine heap of sand Prince Edward's Island; but I should find but

one customer; and he, though an excellent fellow in most other respects, is in matters of dealing, not only extremely slow, but "*a little tricky*." The Germans are hard dealers, but are not tricky, and I should have a better chance with them.

Seriously, however, what an iliad of troubles and of woes are we laying the foundation of in this senseless arrangement, in this complication of stipulations, in these obligations and guarantees, endless in number and variety! In every line of them there is the seed of future war. The demolition of the fortresses shows how anxious we were to get any-thing like the name of independence for Belgium. What! Erect a petty state, lately dependent on another state, open on one side to a nation of a thousand times its power; know right well that that nation is unanimous in a desire to have this petty state united to it; send a King from Esher Park to be the sovereign of this petty state; and agree, at the same time, to demolish the fortresses which were erected for the purpose of protecting the petty state against the great one! An old country-woman, who hardly ever had been three miles from home, was taken to Portsdown fair, by a parcel of young people, in order to let her see the wonders of the wild beasts, the rope-dancers, and conjurors. Her surprise grew greater and greater as they took her from wonder to wonder, and she expressed herself from stage to stage in words descriptive of her feelings; but when she came to the *learned pig*, saw with her own eyes the watch held down to him, and he designate the hour and minutes by taps of his hoof upon the floor, she could hold no longer; all her descriptive powers vanished from her lips, and she exclaimed: "There, now; Lord Jesus Christ!" and I solemnly declare that this exclamation bursted forth from me when I first read the account of the demolition of these fortresses. What can one say in such a case? All words, however expressive of astonishment, or of any other feeling, are inadequate to the occasion. A short time brings contempt and disgust into

your mind; but I defy the power of words to express what you feel.

The natural effect of this arrangement is to fill with discontent the minds of both the French and the Belgians; and the arrangement can last only just so long as the French people can be kept quiet by their Government of loan-mongers and stock-jobbers. The consequence would at last be war between England and France; but as long as the English debt lasts in its present magnitude that cannot be; and whenever England shall have a Parliament that will make an equitable adjustment with regard to the debt, that Parliament will have too much sense to vote a single penny for the protection of the "north of Germany." The Duke of WELLINGTON says, or is reported to say, that he felt ashamed of the conduct of our Government with regard to Portugal; that he "felt ashamed of it as an *Englishman*." His worship must, I take it, *be* an Englishman first. I, as an Englishman, feel no shame at all at any of these transactions, always having not only disapproved of the transactions themselves, but having in every case, and in good time, used every exertion in my power to prevent the causes which have finally produced them; whereas the Duke had more to do than any other man living in producing those fatal causes. Not knowingly, and by no means intentionally, I allow: he was a soldier: his natural object was success in war: it was not for him to count the cost: that was for the Parliament: but it is nevertheless certain that the "glories" with which he is covered, and which he, in this very debate, says (by clear implication) "*are imperishable*," are not more imperishable than is the debt which the acquiring of those glories occasioned. This sort of answer Lord GREY might have given; but such frankness, such truths, are wholly incompatible with the carrying on of that system of debts and of enormous establishments, which, according to all appearance, the present Ministers are resolved to carry on to the last possible moment.

WM. COBBETT.

REFORM BILL.

THIS affair, owing again to the conduct of the *people*, and the resolute attitude that they were taking, seems now to be in a fair way of coming to an end; and, as I have always anxiously wished that it may come to an end quietly, I have great pleasure in communicating the intelligence to my readers. On Tuesday evening last Mr. O'CONNELL rose to present a petition from the council of the Political Union at Birmingham, which petition he read; and the substance of it is given in the following report:—

Mr. O'CONNELL rose to present a petition from the council of the Political Union, Birmingham, praying that the House would accelerate the progress of the Reform Bill. He felt highly honoured by having this petition placed in his hands. The honourable Member proceeded to read the petition, which set forth—that the confidence which the petitioners reposed in that honourable House, had hitherto induced them to wait with patience for the issue of its deliberations; but that they regretted to observe, that the nation's determination to possess, at length, the rights of which it has been so long deprived, was set at naught; and that deference was paid, less to the will of an united people, than to the sordid and frivolous objections of interested individuals. The petitioners had observed, with disgust and indignation, the factious and puerile opposition made to the opinions of a majority of that honourable House, and to the demands of an oppressed and insulted people; and with feelings of a nearly similar character, they contrasted the rapidity with which measures of penalty and of spoliation had been enacted by former Parliaments, with the extraordinary tardiness at present displayed in completing a wholesome and healing measure of wisdom, justice, and conciliation. The petitioners respectfully reminded that honourable House, that the state of distress which had so long oppressed the energies of the nation, and filled the country with anxiety and misery, imperatively demanded the immediate attention of the House, and the adoption of comprehensive and effectual remedies; but it was impossible, until the present great measure of reform should be carried into effect, that such attention should be given, and such remedies applied; and, therefore, the petitioners felt it their duty to urge upon the House the absolute necessity of no longer permitting the bill of reform to be retarded in its progress, and the sufferings of an oppressed but patient people prolonged, by the obstinate and factious opposition made by a small and interested minority to the acknowledged and expressed opinions of the great majority of the Members

of that honourable House, and of the people of the United Kingdom.

After some discussion, it was settled by the Speaker that, agreeably to the rules of the House, this petition could not be received; because it meddled with what had passed and was passing in the House, and because it pointed out to the House the course which it ought to pursue. If petitions can, upon this ground, be refused reception, we never can petition for the rejecting or the altering of any Bill or any measure that is before the House. However, Mr. O'Connell very judiciously took care to read the petition at full length, which was rather better than its being received and not read at all, which is the case ninety-nine times out of every hundred.

London, which ought to have taken the lead of Birmingham, and which has done its duty well with regard to this Reform Bill, was to have held a Common Hall this day (Wednesday), in order to present a petition, pressing the House to make despatch in the business; but some of the gentlemen who had signed the requisition for the Common-Hall, and particularly Mr. FEARON, having conversed with some of the ministers on Monday, thought it best to call a select meeting of the Livery at a tavern, in order to determine whether it were not better that the Common Hall should be suspended for the present. This meeting took place accordingly; and Mr. FEARON being called to the chair, the following proceedings took place.

Mr. R. TAYLOR said, that, some weeks ago he felt convinced that the country must express itself on the subject, particularly after the night on which the opposition had worried the patience of all honest men, by dividing so frequently; and he had spoken to several about the necessity of calling the Livery together. It appeared, however, to be the feeling of those whom he addressed, that he should wait some time longer. Now, however, the tone was changed, and he was told that they had waited too long. He thought that the meeting might be held without the hazard of throwing any censure by implication upon his Majesty's ministers, in whose motives he placed the most unshaken confidence. He thought it of great importance that the people should meet upon the occasion, because the people would not be obliged to hide or to mystify the strong feelings of indig-

nation which existed to so great an extent with regard to the delay. The forms of the House, and the etiquette which at all times reigned there, prevented the members of his majesty's Government from using terms of adequate disgust at the base conduct of the opposition; but the Livery would not deem it expedient to stick to parliamentary phraseology, the livery would he thought use language less fastidious. (A laugh.) The press had spoken out with great power and spirit; but what did Sir Robert Peel say upon finding that the press had exceeded its privilege? He denied that the press communicated the sentiments of the people, and spoke of the spirit of journalism with which the Government was, according to his description, affected. Now it was his (Mr. Taylor's) wish to show that the press spoke the language of the population, and that those who denied that fact told arrant falsehoods. He wished to show that reform was not, as that factious and wretched set of boroughmongers described it to be, a cry raised by Ministers to keep them in their places, but that it was a measure which the people were determined to have accomplished, and would, with the aid of the Government, no doubt accomplish. He approved of a latitude of discussion, but discussion had been long at an end on that question. Obstruction was the word, and not discussion. The enemies of the bill were constantly engaged in petty, villanous quibbling. They resembled those low attorneys who constituted the vermin of the law, and who availed themselves of the technicalities, which had nothing to do with justice, to smother the operations of justice. (Laughter.) Did not the House of Commons present a very strange appearance during the agitation of the question? Were not the enemies of the bill daily and nightly insulting the Government and the people, describing the *honourable species of depredation* which they had been so long committing, and putting forward *their hired bullies to fight the battle*. What could the public think of the *hired bullies of the boroughmongers*, when they saw that one of them was a worthy *who ought to be arraigned at the bar of his country, for bargaining to sell a peerage*? What would they think of such a fellow, who instead of *hiding his head in obscurity, thrust himself forward as the advocate of the vile boroughmongers*.

Mr. ASHURST thought the meeting was bound, at least, to express their determination to support his Majesty's Ministers in the most powerful and decisive manner.

Mr. STEVENS (of Bishopsgate) thought it would not be advisable to hold the Common Hall, as had been proposed, on Wednesday. Ministers had been, in his opinion, tardy; but they had explained their reasons for the course they had adopted; and many thought that they could not have done better than by pursuing that course. He thought that it would be advisable not to meet on Wednesday, but to draw up some resolutions, stating the grounds of the postponement. They might,

he said, wait till they could ascertain whether the opposition was to be carried on in the same odious spirit which had distinguished it, or whether it was not nearly at an end. He then moved that they should draw up resolutions on the subject.

Mr. LEDGER seconded the motion. Ministers had nearly got through the disfranchising clause, and they had shown a determination to use energy, as appeared from their decisive conduct on Saturday, when they had assembled and half disfranchised so many boroughs, notwithstanding the taunts and menaces of the opposition.

Mr. WILLIAMS (of Watling-street) stated the delay in the bill was of extensive injury to trade. Who would enter into engagements *when it was known that multitudes determined, if the bill did not pass, not to pay any taxes?* (Hear, hear.) There were other *alarming circumstances*, he stated, connected with the delay.

After a few words from Mr. Dillon, of Fore-street, Mr. Galloway, and Mr. Pritchard, &c., the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"That in consequence of the progress made in the Committee in the House of Commons since the signing of the Requisition to the Lord Mayor, particularly on Saturday last, when the disfranchising clauses were nearly terminated, and from the fear that the proceedings of any public meeting might, by those engaged in the present factious and unprincipled opposition to the measure, be used as a new means of causing a frivolous and vexatious delay, this meeting withdraw their Requisition for the present, and express their desire that a Common Hall should not immediately be held.

"And that the Liverymen now assembled do form themselves into a Committee, with power to add to their numbers; and that such Committee do meet again on Monday next, or earlier, if expedient, to consider whether it will be then necessary to adopt any, and what measures, regarding the passing of the Reform Bill."

No proceeding could have been more proper than this. The result will show the unconverted boroughmongers that the people are resolved to have this bill pass, and to be no longer the sport of bribery, corruption, and a waste of their earnings. I am particularly pleased with the frankness and boldness of Mr. RICHARD TAYLOR and Mr. WILLIAMS. No description was ever more just; no sentiments more evidently correct, than the description given and the sentiments expressed by Mr. TAYLOR; and, let the desperate boroughmongers, if there be any remaining, remember, that words, when they

come from men of sense and men of spirit, are the sure forerunners of acts, if those acts become necessary. Mr. WILLIAMS'S observation, that the delay was extremely injurious to trade, was very correct; and well might he ask, who would enter into engagements of future fulfilment, "when it was known that multitudes had determined, if the Bill did not pass, *not to pay any taxes!*" well might he ask this; for, would not such a refusal at once plunge the country into a state of confusion? Would it not destroy at once the value of funded property, of property dependent on the Insurance offices, of all bills and paper evidence of debts and contracts; would it not inevitably produce a run upon every bank in the country and upon the Bank of England above all the rest: in short, is not this the last dire resort; is it not war between a people and their government; and is even this to be risked rather than put an end to notorious bribery and corruption?

About the same time that the Livery were coming to their judicious resolutions, at once expressive of their moderation and of their firmness, Lord ALTHORP was, it seems, holding, by invitation, a meeting of members of the House of Commons, friends of the Bill, at the Foreign Office in Downing-street, in order to urge them to waive any objections which they might have to the detail of the bill, in order to prevent, as much as possible, any further delay in the passing of it. The report of what took place at this meeting is as follows; on which report I shall have to offer an observation or two.

In consequence of an invitation from Lord Althorp, there was a very numerous meeting yesterday afternoon, at the Foreign Office, of the Members of the House of Commons who have supported the Reform Bill. We understand that Lord Althorp informed the gentlemen present that he had taken the liberty of calling them together, in order that he might make some suggestions to them as to the course which it would be most expedient for the friends of reform to pursue with a view to the speedy and successful progress of the measure. He strongly, but respectfully, urged such Members as had given notices of motions for amendments in the bill, not to persevere in such motions, unless, upon considera-

tion, they should deem them to be of essential importance. He did not pretend to ask of any gentleman to abandon his opinions in deference to the Government. He merely put it to the good sense of Members, whether it would not be more advisable to give up any objections which they might entertain to some of the details of the bill, than to delay and retard its progress by bringing on endless discussions in the Committee upon such details. He was most anxious—and so must be every true friend of reform—that as little delay as possible should occur, and therefore it was that he urged gentlemen to sacrifice their feelings upon some minor points, and thus accelerate a measure in which they were all so deeply interested. Whilst he thus expressed his anxiety that all delay should be avoided, he begged to be distinctly understood, that the enemies of reform were most miserably mistaken, if they hoped to defeat the bill by delay. They might originate discussions from day to day, and throw obstacles in the way of the bill; but of this they might all rest assured, that rather than abandon the bill, Parliament should be kept sitting until next December, or next December twelve-month, if necessary.

Sir F. BURDETT fully concurred with the noble Lord as to the necessity of pressing on a measure upon which the public mind was so much excited. He need hardly say, that he entertained very strong feelings upon the subject of reform, and that there were some provisions which he would wish to see introduced into the bill which it did not at present contain; but he would adopt the suggestion of the noble Lord, and give up for the present his own views upon these particular points, in order that, as far as he was concerned, no impediment might be thrown in the way of his Majesty's Government. He would accept the bill in its present form as a measure calculated to do immense good to the country, reserving to himself, of course, the right to suggest, at any future period, such amendments as would give a more extended operation to the principle of the bill.

Lord MILTON differed very materially from the honourable Baronet. His wish was *that the measure should be final*, and therefore he thought it their duty to make it *so perfect in all its details*, as that it should not require future amendment.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER observed, that it would be endless work to try to make any measure of such a complicated nature perfect, and that the working of time would always point out improvements which might be beneficially adopted.

Several gentlemen, we are informed, expressed their warm concurrence in the view taken by Lord Althorp, and promised, as far as in them lay, to give effect to his Lordship's suggestions.—*Courier*.

That which was said by Lord ALTHORP is certainly reasonable and right.

Though the persons that know as much as I do, if they be not the bitter enemies of truth and justice, and who hold in abhorrence the late prosecution, will never patiently hear praise bestowed upon this man again, I shall praise any good *conduct* of his just in the same way as if that attempt to destroy me had never taken place. What he said was judicious, and the step altogether was right; and even BURDETT did not play the fool upon this occasion. What Lord MILTON said, however, was very weak, to say the least of it. The Bill, as it now stands, cannot be a *final* measure; because it makes no change with regard to the duration of parliaments. That, indeed, was reserved as the subject of another Bill; and, if that be to be the case, this Bill ought to have a fair and indulgent trial; but a repeal of the Septennial Act we *must* have. There needs no *new law*, mind: no boroughmonger can talk of innovation here: a Bill of ten words will repeal the Septennial Act; and if that be done, I shall say, let us give this Bill a fair, and a very fair and indulgent trial; but without this repeal no sensible man in the kingdom would be satisfied. The Septennial bill was passed for a specific and temporary purpose; the grounds of it were indeed false; the measure was an act of crying injustice towards the people; it was the most outrageous violation of all right and all decency that ever had been witnessed in England or in any other country calling itself free; it was a piece of iniquity that defies all language to give it an adequate description; but, at any rate, the pretended grounds on which it was passed, have long ago ceased to exist; therefore, there is now no excuse whatever for not repealing this odious, this mischievous and detestable bill: just repeal it; let the law stand as it was made at the revolution of 1688, and then the country will be contented: it will have something in reality to thank the king and his ministers for. It is a monstrous mistake to suppose that the *frequency* of elections tends to discontent, disturbance and uproar. These always arise from people seeing no hope of

legal redress. What makes the United States of America so tranquil? Precisely because of the frequency of the elections. If the Congress had been elected for seven years instead of for two, that government would have been destroyed long and long ago. If members act contrary to the will of their constituents, the people, knowing that they can turn them out at the end of a few months, eighteen months, at the most; for they do not begin to sit for some months after their election; the people, knowing this, quiet themselves in the mean while, conscious that the means of redress will speedily be in their own hands. Thus it is that the United States are always so tranquil, and that the Congress never hears of such a thing as a petition for the redress of general grievances. But if the Congress were elected for seven years, men would despair of redress of grievances; their blood would be boiling at the perfidious acts of their representatives, and the government must become, in fact, a military despotism or be destroyed, and a new sort of government made. The ministers have proved that they have a deadly hatred towards me, and the reader will give me credit when I say, that I have no great love for them; but we may still both love our country, and, indeed, it is perhaps only their *jealousy* that has actuated them in their deeds towards me, suspecting that I have too tender a regard for the object which they wish to keep wholly to themselves. "Oh! beware of *jealousy*, my lords! It is a green-eyed monster, that makes the meat it feeds upon." And if you suspect that I aim at the enjoyment of those attributes of the object which are, probably, the most charming in your eyes, or, rather, to your touch, banish your fears, I beseech you; for be satisfied, that were you to pour out before me all the gold in the Exchequer, not one piece of it should ever go into my pocket. At any rate, let not your hatred or your jealousy close your ears against the advice and the warning that I give you. Consider well what I have said about a repeal of the Septennial Bill, and about

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From Lord ALTHORP's meeting we go to the House of Commons, where we find the bill making tolerable progress, though by no means progress enough to satisfy me, especially when I recollect how much business the two Houses despatched in the *forty-one days* in the fall of 1819. Besides some taxing bills, they passed SIX ACTS, which acts contained twelve provisions for the enforcing of fines, two provisions for inflicting one year's imprisonment, three provisions for the inflicting of two year's imprisonment, three provisions for the imprisoning without limit, three provisions for inflicting felony and seven years' transportation, and one provision for inflicting banishment for any term, even for life, and one provision for *bearing harmless* justices of the peace and others who might kill and maim men in the execution of these Acts; when I recollect that every line in these Acts contained a complete innovation on the laws of the country; when I see that, from the meeting of the Parliament, there were but forty-one days wherein to pass the Acts; when I see that there could not possibly be more than *three days* in which each House was engaged upon each of these Acts; when I see this, and look at the nature of the Acts themselves, and when I look at the snail's progress of the present bill, and look at the nature of that bill; when I see that forty-one days, exclusive of Sundays, have been spent upon two clauses of this bill, while only thirty-five days, exclusive of Sundays, were spent about the Six Acts, all the indignation which I have ever felt on account of those Acts comes back in full tide, and robs me of the words wherewith to express my discontent. However, the thing moves, and let us have patience if we can.

During the debate of Tuesday evening, the reporter of the *Morning Chronicle* tells us that ALEXANDER BARING, the famous loan-man, and the father of BINGHAM BARING, who was struck by poor Cook on the Friday, and who was presented at Court the next Monday;

the reporter of the *Chronicle* says that this ALEXANDER BARING made, on Tuesday evening, the following speech:

Mr. A. BARING assured the Gentlemen connected with what was called the country interest, that if, in supporting this measure of the Ministers, they supposed that a *few Squires* from the country would be able (when the *day of battle* should come) to contend with the *active, intelligent, pushing men*, who would be returned from the manufacturing towns, they would be *sadly disappointed*. (Cheers.) He said this only to call the attention of the *country gentlemen* to what would be the consequence of the altered state of the representation. (Cheers.) The gentlemen who would be returned from the manufacturing districts would be *active men*, who would *read every paper which should come into the House*; and could the country gentlemen suppose that in contending with such men they should not be *overmatched*? (Cheers.) Against such a representation the *country interest* could have no chance of maintaining itself; and he would ask, how was the church, then, to be supported against the noble Paymaster's friends? (Cheers.) But looking even to the effects of the measure, as it would effect the *mob-courting Ministry themselves* (cheers), he would ask how were they to return to that House an *Attorney or Solicitor-General* who had *instituted an unpopular prosecution*, or supported an *unpopular tax*?

Come, come, Mr. Reporter! Do not come paddy over us to this extent. The man may have been in a rage to be sure; but he never could have been mad enough to say this when he knew that it might get into print. The remarks upon this by Doctor Black, who, by-the-by, by no means disgraces the diploma which I gave him; the remarks of the Doctor upon this are so good that I cannot help inserting them for the amusement if not for the instruction of my readers. "This is truly a strange way of arguing the question. No man would think of supporting the country interest and supporting the Church who is not egregiously lazy and stupid, and does not read any of the papers which come into the House. If he is active and clever, and a reader of papers, he will assuredly be opposed to the country interest and to the Church; and where stupidity and laziness are opposed to cleverness and activity, the result cannot be doubtful. Keep the few clever and active men out of the House if you wish to main-

tain your ground. The real motive for the limitation of the choice of electors to candidates possessed of a certain amount of annual income, was to do that indirectly which could not have been so well done otherwise: namely, to ensure the return of the most stupid and lazy men in the nation.—At another time, the Tory Squires would not have much relished the complaint of Mr. Baring; but they will even submit to be kicked by a man who treats them as little better than idiots, for the sake of the pillage of the nation. They cheered him. They declared by their approbation that the cap fitted them admirably.—But, if there be any truth in the argument of Mr. BARING, what a handle he furnishes to the people of England to oppose themselves to the Aristocracy. He declares to them that no man possessed of energy and application, and who attends to the business before the House, would vote as the country Squires vote. He declares that no man of talents would support the Church; and that the Aristocracy and Church only exist, because clever and industrious men are excluded from the House.—But why are clever and active men to be necessarily opposed to the country interest and the Church? Mr. Baring here lets the cat out of the bag. Before he was so extensive a landholder as he now is, he was the great opponent of the country gentlemen, and declared, when opposing the Corn Bill, that they lived in a style which no landholders could maintain in any other country, at the expense of the people, whom they taxed unmercifully to increase their rents. Mr. BARING evidently shows that he has retained the opinions, for maintaining which he was hooted at the time by the country Squires, but that it is no longer convenient for him to urge them, though he is satisfied that they can only not be victorious in the House by confining the representation to noodles and sluggards.—There is in all this something so monstrously impudent, that we question if, in the

whole history of the world, there is an instance of men using an argument which involves such a marked insult to a nation. By holding out in this manner to the people the higher ranks as their inveterate enemies, do they not do all they can to make the people enemies to the higher ranks?"

To this I have little to add: indeed nothing, except that I suppose that ADVOWSONS have not altogether escaped the all-searching attention of the BARINGS; and that I have not forgotten that, only last summer, this very BARING complained of the enormous revenues of the Bishop of London, and insisted that church property was under the control of parliament. I remember, too, that I had to defend my diocesan by saying, that the revenues of the Bishop of London were just as much under the control of parliament as the *Abbey-lands of Stratton and Mitcheldever, and not a bit more!*

But, "*pushing men!*" What is meant by "*pushing*"? The BARINGS have pushed about pretty well, I think. They have made a pretty many and pretty good pushes: they have seen a pretty many pushed down, while they have been pushing up. They have seen a pretty many thousands of *squires* pushed out of their estates and their mansions, and pretty nearly into the work-house; and would he persuade the few that remain, to sit quiet till they are pushed in the same way? No, no! It is not the few remaining country squires that will suffer from Reform: they will be saved by it: it is the cockade-squires; it is the scrip-squires; it is the parson-squires, that will get a push; and a push they will get, as sure as Mr. BARING has a head upon his shoulders.

But, to *push* these Barings aside for the present, let us come to something more important that took place during this debate; namely, a declaration from PEELE, that he would *now cease his opposition to the Reform Bill*. I shall insert his pithy and well-pointed speech; but a little matter is necessary in the way of preface. The subject was the giving of members to Manchester and other towns, and PEELE, having ex-

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pressed himself in favour of this part of the Bill, Lord JOHN RUSSELL accused him of *inconsistency*; because, *some years ago*, Peel had opposed his project for giving members to four large towns, because that opened a field for much more extended changes. Now, in the first place, this taunt of Lord JOHN RUSSELL savoured much more of party rivalry than of that *public spirit* which was so conspicuous in Major CARTWRIGHT, who used to say, "I will pardon the man, and will cease to reproach the man, who has done me the greatest personal injury, if he will join me in the cause of Reform." In the next place, the accusation against PEELE was unjust. He opposed the great-town-plan because it would lead to more extended changes; but, the extended changes *having now been made* in the former part of the bill, he, with perfect consistency, supports the giving of members to populous towns. Men who live in glass houses should not, the proverb says, begin to fling stones at their neighbours: of all the bitter and insidious foes of a Reform like the present, Lord JOHN RUSSELL has been the greatest; and it is no longer ago than May, 1827, that he withdrew the notice of a motion that he had given of his great-town reform, upon the ground, as he said, and as BROUGHAM said too, that *the people had ceased to wish for Reform*; and these two, and LAMBTON and BURDETT, all supported CANNING, who, at the very moment that they were cheering him, explicitly declared to their faces, and in the face of this insulted people, that he would oppose Reform to the last hour of his life. RUSSELL, therefore, with PALMERSTON and GRANT sitting on the two sides of him, should not have begun the flinging of stones. PEELE's answer was excellent, complete, triumphant; his stones were heavier than those of Lord JOHN, and were thrown with a mightier hand: they were such as little DAVID would have received from the hands of GOLIAH, if GOLIAH had understood the use of the sling. To use a figure more apt, they were like blows from the beak of the raven, in return for the peckings of the

little tom-tit. Here they are, reader. Do imagine, if you can, how Lord JOHN and his two supporters, GRANT and PALMERSTON, must have felt.

The noble Lord had taunted him with a change of opinions (hear.) But was he the only Member of that House—or was that the only side of the House on which Members were not to be allowed to *change their opinions* (hear, hear, hear)? Was it to them that the noble Lord was to say that nothing could be conceded, for a change of opinions founded on the altered state of the country and of opinion (hear); altered because one Gentleman had been compelled to leave office for being opposed to reform, and another had been supported purely on the ground of embracing it (hear)—altered because that which was partial and limited had become general (hear)—altered because his Majesty had been induced to give it his countenance (hear)—altered, above all, because, under the express sanction of the Government, the King's name, and all the weight and influence of the Royal Authority had been taken away from the Constitution, as it existed for ages, and brought to the support of a proposition for a most extensive system of Reform (cheers)? And was it from the noble Lord and the Right hon. and noble persons opposite that *these taunts came*? and had no change taken place in *their opinions* (cheers)? Had he (Sir R. Peel) ever taunted the noble Lord opposite (Lord Palmerston) in the course of these discussions for the change of his opinions on Reform? Had he ever taunted that noble Lord, or the Right hon. Gentleman beside him (Mr. C. Grant), although *for full sixteen years of their lives they had been chiefly distinguished for their resistance to all reform whatever* (cheers)—distinguished too, for their adherence to Mr. Canning, the main feature of whose domestic policy *was resistance to all reform*, in whatever shape it might clothe itself (cheers). Did he deny to *them* the privilege of taking whatever course the altered circumstances of the time might point out to them to be expedient, and why was the same privilege to be refused to him (hear)? In the year 1826, when the question of giving the franchise of Grampound to one of the large towns was brought under the notice of the House, did the noble Lord or the Right hon. Gentleman rise in their places *then*, and say that the time was come when they must yield to their deep sense of the propriety of transferring the privileges of decayed, corrupt, or small boroughs, to large unrepresented towns? No. So far were they from being convinced of this imperious necessity, that they *voted for the transfer of the franchise to the hundred* (hear, hear). Had he insisted on those right hon. persons preserving their opinions or their consistency, and *why was he then to be debarred from proposing that which he now considered most expedient*? What, too, was the

situation of the noble Lord (Russell)? After the able speeches they had once heard in that House (cheers)—after the able and *erudite treatises* they had read out of it (cheers)—the noble Lord, the author of the Bill—the proposer of the plan of Reform, flanked as he was, right and left, by his noble and right hon. Friends, ought to be *the very last man in that House to taunt him* with a change of opinion (cheers). He knew not what advantage the noble Lord proposed to draw from his former declarations, but this he would repeat, that having seen *one Government driven from office* for opposing Reform—having felt that, from whatever cause, whether from the conduct of the Government or any other, *the demand for Reform was become more general*—and having seen no less than *five Governments* within a very short period of time, he had declared his intention, *rather than risk the chance of another change of Government, to support a measure of Reform*, if it could be made consistent with reason and with justice (hear, hear). In compliance with that pledge, and in obedience to that principle, he was *now supporting the Reform Bill* (the House having already decided on the principle of the measure) as far as he could support it consistently with his sense of justice and fair dealing, *without any compromise of his principles, or without the perpetration of injustice; and he would continue to do so in spite of all the taunts of the noble Lord or his adherents* (cheers).

On Wednesday night there was a devil of a stir about giving Members to GREENWICH, and during the debate the *reporter* gives us the following speech from ALEXANDER, the famous LOAN-MAKER, who seems to be haunted by *dreadful* forebodings of the effects of the bill.

When the honourable Alderman (THOMPSON) had pledged himself to support the Ministers and their bill, it was scarcely to be supposed that he was at liberty to oppose particular parts of the measure. The worthy Alderman had, in giving that pledge, distinctly admitted the principle, that representatives ought to be pledged to take the opinions of their constituents respecting each particular vote which they should give. (Cheers.) He referred to the reproof given to Sir Robert Wilson, by his constituents, as another instance of the inconvenience of the principle, and of the total abstraction of the independence of Members, to which the recognition of it would lead. (Cheers.) Within the last day or two a threat of a meeting in the city had been held as a *rod in terrorem* over that House. (Cheers.) It was a clear indication of that sort of influence which would be attempted to be exercised over the House by popular bodies out of doors, when they should come into more immediate and sensitive communication with the Members. (Hear, and

question.) The present question was not, however, whether the people should controul their representatives, but whether the extensive change of the franchise should take place which was contemplated by the whole clause? (Hear.) When gentlemen talked of his and other gentlemen impeding the progress of this important bill by prolonged and uncalled-for discussion, it ought to be remembered, that the more important were those provisions, the more necessary it was that they should be carefully looked into. (Question, question.) He complained of the attempts that were made to stifle discussion upon questions in which the peace, happiness, and tranquillity of the country were deeply concerned. (Question, question.) Much objection had been made to some observations of his on the preceding evening respecting the country gentlemen in the House. Now, he had no intention of attributing any want of ability to those Members who had frequently shown both ability and industry on occasions on which their interests were to be defended, as on the question of the Corn Laws. (Hear.) All he meant to say was, that they had a natural tendency to quiet and peaceful habits. [The increasing noise in the House prevented us from hearing distinctly the honourable Gentleman's reference to the opinions of some French writers in support of his own, that country gentlemen were less active, and had a less aptitude for business than other people.] He would again assure those Gentlemen, that if they thought that their neighbours would support them against the sort of persons who would be returned by those suburban districts, they would find themselves sadly mistaken. (Question, question.) They were told that these places were inhabited by persons of property. But he would ask what weight would persons of property have in the representation, when the principle of the Bill went nearly to Universal Suffrage (cheers; and cries of "Oh, oh"). He would ask what influence had the gentlemen of property in Westminster over the elections for that city (hear). Did not the gentlemen all vote one way, and the mass of the electors quite the other (Hear.) He hoped that his hon. Friend opposite would not be offended when he asked what had the people of property in Westminster to do with the election of the present members (much noise in the House, "Question" &c.) Gentlemen opposite had so marshalled their votes as to prevent any inroad upon their bill. (Cheers.) It was not a Bill upon which the wisdom of parliament could be brought to bear. (Cheers.) The subjects comprehended in that Bill would afford sufficient matter for a dozen Bills. (Loud and repeated cheers.) He was not in the secrets of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but he understood that at a meeting which they had held a few days ago, the country gentlemen had consented to forego their own opinions, and to sacrifice their own interests and those of their constituents for the sake of the Bill. (Cheers, and "No, no.")

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The committee ought to bear in mind, that in agreeing to the clause before them, they not only gave representatives to those suburban districts, but they gave the franchise to 10% householders, and that that part of the Bill brought down the representation as low as his noble Friend opposite wished—that is, to the verge of pauperism—to the point at which property begins. (Cheers, and “question.”) It was to be remembered, that if they granted too little, it would still be possible to grant more; but if they now granted too much, it would be impossible to go back. If they fixed the franchise at 30%, they might reduce it afterwards to 20%. If—(loud yawning, which prevented us from hearing the conclusion of the sentence.) He would not object to giving representatives to districts in which—(yawns, and cries of “oh” and hear, hear.) He reminded the committee of the present state of the French Legislature, which was at that moment sitting under the control of clubs, by which they were surrounded on every side. (Cheers.) He considered that clause of enfranchisement quite as serious in its probable consequences as schedule A, because it gave the franchise, as the latter schedule took it away, without the slightest necessity. (Cheers.) The noble Lord opposite had said that there was no danger to be apprehended from popular assemblies. But it was a fact, that on Monday last there was assembled in the neighbourhood of the city a body of twenty-five or thirty thousand men, evidently “looking out to see if the time was ripe for them to carry their plans of mischief into execution.” What would be the constitution of that House when the representation should be in the hands of such bodies. (Cheers, and oh, oh.) When this Bill should be carried into effect, the people would soon see, that if their friends had been allowed—(cries of oh, oh, cheers, and laughter, amidst which the conclusion of the speech was lost.)

IRISH TITHES.

Of all the subjects that now engage public attention, next after the Reform Bill, comes the subject of TITHES; I am about to insert one of the best pieces of writing that I ever read in my life, upon this important subject; and it is from the pen of the best writer that I know any-thing of; namely from DOCTOR DOYLE, who is a Roman Catholic Bishop in Ireland. I need not urge my readers to go through it with attention; for if they read but three sentences, nothing will prevent them from reading every word of the whole

piece. It is a letter to Lord FARNHAM, in consequence of the newspapers reporting that this Lord had said of Doctor Doyle, that the government had made him a justice of the peace, and that he was at the head of a conspiracy to resist the payment of tithes. Here is the letter; and let all the boroughmongers and all the parsons club their talents and answer it if they can. It pleads the cause of every tithe-payer in the kingdom, and it pleads the cause of every labourer in the kingdom.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD FARNHAM:

MY LORD,—I once before had the honour of addressing your Lordship. The cause or occasion of my doing so was your effort at Cavan to propagate the “New Reformation.” I then warned you of the mischief you were attempting, and foretold you the issue of your pious labours. Without foreboding ill, is there not some reason to fear that this my second letter to your Lordship, may presage the coming ruin of what your Lordship is represented to take so untowardly under your protection? But I would rather discuss than prophesy future events.

Some friend or foe of your Lordship, in *The Dublin Evening Post* of the 17th of this month, introduces a speech as if delivered by you in the House of Lords on the previous Monday evening, and thus, under a most imposing title, endeavours to vent his folly or malignity against many things or persons, but especially against me. This writer assumed your Lordship’s title to give weight and importance to his imbecile thoughts. I will stoop for a moment to remonstrate with him, and your Lordship, I am sure, will excuse me for assuming the patronage of your name whilst engaged with this my petulant adversary.

This writer, with that adroitness suited to little minds, opens his case by a speech, as it were, of the Bishop of Ferns, and then represents your Lordship as stating it fully, with a gravity not unbecoming a court of justice. In this form, he charges me with being at the head of a conspiracy formed in this country to resist the payment of tithes, and in the perversity of his judgment imputes to me the late slaughter at Newtownbarry. He also insinuates that I, being a Bishop, had accepted the commission of the peace. The other observations of this writer, under the name of Dr. Elrington or that of your Lordship, are worthy only of a special pleader, who knew his statement could not be replied to till the purpose for which he made it had been served; or of a partizan who, distrusting the success of his secret wiles, could seek by an *ex-parte* statement, on a matter subject to

legal inquiry, to warp the judgment of those on whom the issue of that inquiry depended.

But then, as to what more immediately concerns myself; and, first, as to the "commission of the peace."

I would not, my Lord, for your estate, accept and exercise such commission. I am forbidden to exercise jurisdiction of any sort in criminal cases connected with blood; but, independent of this prohibition, the "commission of the peace" is not compatible with that higher commission which I hold. Even if I were a private individual, I could not but feel that the office of what is called "justice of the peace" has, now-a-days, ceased in Ireland to confer honour on those who hold it. Nay, if that office were accepted of by any one of the numerous clergy subject to my control, he should cease to hold his spiritual office in conjunction with it. The clergy throughout the world have been too long labouring to serve two masters: they should now make their selection of one of them, for the spirit of Reform being abroad, "it is time that judgment should begin from the house of God," and I would sooner dissolve my little church establishment than suffer the clergy of it to bear two incompatible commissions. This, my Lord, is one of the worst species of pluralities, and the writer in *The Dublin Evening Post* need not have charged me with a disposition to become an accomplice in so grave an offence; but it hath pleased Providence that malignity should generally count amongst its first victims those whose breasts it fills.

This part of the charge preferred against me is, however, of minor importance. What follows is much more serious. I am then accused, not in the House of Lords, where I could not be present to defend myself—where I could have no notice of trial—no advocate to justify me—no means of rebutting false imputations, or of covering with shame and confusion the slanderer of my reputation. No! but I am accused by this nameless writer in the public press with being, not a conspirator, but the chief of a conspiracy.

The word "conspiracy" is generally received in its worst sense, and so taken, signifies "a secret contrivance by a few or many to effect some evil purpose." Secresy is the soul of conspiracy, and conspirators often tasted blood to confirm their iniquitous league. I almost startle at myself, and ask, "Am I then such a man, such a monster as this charge implies?" I need not, I am confident, assure your Lordship that my conscience, that "herald of future judgment," acquits me. I am no conspirator. Unwilling to be profane, I am yet obliged to say, "I have spoken openly to the world, and in secret I have spoken nothing."

In my letter to Mr. Spring Rice, on a legal provision for the Irish poor, which this writer has quoted, the nuisance, the unjust and iniquitous exaction of tithe, is but briefly and partially exposed. I have, in all my

writings for several years past, treated of the tithe system in Ireland as a chief cause of her sufferings—as an impediment to her improvement in peace as well as in agriculture—as unjust in principle, and odious in practice—as injurious to the best interests of religion—as oppressive to the poor—as inconsistent with good government—and intolerable to the Irish people. Does your Lordship think it is otherwise, or that I have erred in my estimate of it? If it be not an impediment to her improvement in peace, whence proceeded that rustic war which gave birth to that more than sanguinary code called the "Whiteboy Acts," and to those tithe-laws enacted in the Irish Parliament about the same time, which create offences and rights with regard to tithes such as never before affected the property of mankind? Whence proceeded those scenes of injustice or oppression which Grattan, with an eloquence almost divine, denounced in his place in Parliament, when vainly endeavouring to amend this system? Whence proceeded those periodical insurrections against tithes from which this country has not been exempt since their first introduction? Whence the battle of Skibbereen? Whence those numerous applications by Grand Juries, and other public bodies, for the Peace-Preservation Act, or Insurrection Act, and for a commutation of tithes? Whence the Tithe Commutation Act itself? Was it not the effect of a general movement throughout the largest portion of this country in opposition to tithes? The Marquess of Wellesley will inform your Lordship, that when that act was devised, tithes could not be collected throughout the South of Ireland. Whence, in the last year, arose the society in the North, called the "Tommy-Downshire Boys?" Whence the disposition, now so strongly evinced, rather to suffer the loss of cattle, of liberty, of time, and almost of life, than submit to the payment of tithe? Is this disposition different from that which preceded it—from that which produced the White-boys, the periodical insurrections, the Irish Tithe Code, the indignant denunciations of Grattan, and all the hostility with which the Irish people have at all times combated against tithe? Is the slaughter at Newtownbarry the effect of a cause different from that which produced the battle of Skibbereen? No, my Lord, the exaction of tithe is incompatible with the peace of Ireland; it was hated and resisted before I was born, and it will be cursed when I am in my grave. I have never plotted in secret against this system, but mine has been, and ever will be, one of the thousand voices raised to denounce it to the hatred of mankind, until a wise legislature removes it from the shoulders of an oppressed people, and delivers religion, to use the idea of Grattan, from the injustice of the church. Is this system not injurious to agriculture? I have seen the hay left to rot, and the field untillied, rather than pay the tithe of the produce to the parson. But is it not self-evident that if culture

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produce ten pounds' worth of produce from an acre of land subject to only one pound annual rent, that the tithe of this produce is taken, not from the land or its value, but from the seed, labour, and capital employed in producing the crop; and if a man be thus mulcted in proportion to his industry in agriculture, will he not be discouraged? The question, my Lord, is too plain to require a reply. But then the Commutation Act remedies this inconvenience. They who applaud this Act do not feel how the income of the incumbent, to be rendered doubly secure by it, is estimated by the average amount of the tithe of the land, capital, labour, and industry of the seven preceding years. This Act regulates the oppression, but does not lighten it; it does not relieve agriculture, but it screens the odious exaction. The merits of this Act are fully comprehended and duly estimated by the public, and they deceive themselves who imagine that the enormous charge imposed by it will ever be patiently borne. But Doctor Elrington is represented by this writer to have said that the charge under this Act per acre, in the parish of Graig, was only sevenpence. Had his Lordship said so, I would believe it true; but then a great portion of this parish is barren heath or mountain, and what forms a singular contrast with the above statement is, that on part of those lands, let at their full value, the composition for tithe equals or exceeds the reserved rent. I have had the amount of both stated to me in figures. This statement is not now with me, and my memory may deceive me; but this is the impression on my mind. The incumbent of that parish is represented as courting his parishioners for 20 years, and their ingratitude is inferred from their refusing to pay without compulsion the tithe claimed by him.

This is misconception. The incumbent did not court the people, he was among them for 20 years, "neither cold nor hot." They are nearly all Catholics, and heeded not this pastor, not of their souls, but of their tithes. But Eli himself had two sons, who, by their oppression and immoral conduct, turned away the people of Israel from offering sacrifice, and it may be that a very inoffensive man in our days might forfeit from the ill-conduct of other persons the regard of his neighbours. But conjecture on this head may be laid aside; for should your Lordship wish to be informed of the immediate cause of opposition to the payment of tithe in Graig, you can be satisfied by referring to the Marquess of Ormonde, or to Sir John Harvey, the commandant of the constabulary force in Leinster; to Mr. Power, of Kilfaue, or to any of the magistrates who in Graig ascertained the true causes of that opposition.

But these are only trifles in the great account; such also is that which would represent the amount of the Tithe Composition in this county as light, whereas, in reality, it generally amounts to three shillings per acre, and in some places varies from three to five.

The remark, that I complained of the non-residence of the Protestant Clergy, and inferred from it their inutility, is another assertion as absurd as it is false. I never in my life, by word or writing, complained of the non-residence of the Clergy—I don't recollect to have even mentioned it historically. The truth is, I always thought it silly and severe to confine a well-educated man to a spot or parish where he had no duty to perform, no business connected with his profession; and where he should, in most cases, eke out his days in an indolent repose, or deliver himself up to study, for which few are fitted, or to secular pursuits unbecoming his profession, or to the indulgence of his appetites which would render him a rock of scandal, or to the purposes of fanaticism, which would expose his folly and disturb the peace. I was, and am of opinion, that the Established Clergy are more than twice as numerous as the wants of their Church require, and that enforcing residence by them on their *cures*, as they are called, is a portion of that fatuity which more than once has been broached even in Parliament. There it has been said, "Build churches, and congregations will arise to fill them;" and this maxim is wisely propounded, and as wisely admitted, though it be in opposition to the rule and practice of the Apostles, and of all their genuine successors. These first converted men, and then the converts built the churches. But the Apostles, or their successors, were not blessed with statutes made and provided to supply the want of all their own exertions.

But to proceed with my own justification. I have, my Lord, always considered and represented the tithe system in Ireland, not only as an impediment to her improvement in peace and agriculture, but also as unjust in principle and odious in practice. Does not justice, my Lord, require that an equivalent be given for whatever is received? Did God or Christ ever will or command that there should be sinecures in his Church—or that an industrious man should pay the tenth of his substance, not to a Clergyman who made him no return, but who did not profess his faith, nay, who abused, and reviled, and blasphemed that faith? Your Lordship might do well in giving a sheep from your flock to Mr. M'Clintock, because he prayed and comforted you, and no doubt consoled your Lordship, or at least consoled with you on the failure of your New Reformation project; but, in the name of truth and justice, what did this M'Clintock ever do for the farmer Doyle, why he should possess himself of his two heifers? What pastoral or sacerdotal duty did he ever discharge for this industrious man or his family, why he should receive of his temporal goods? and if he did not labour, why receive hire? It is clear, then, that this exaction is not supported by any principle of reason or the Gospel. It is on principle opposed to both. I might, my Lord, refer to Greece oppressed and insulted by the Mussul-

man—to Egypt and the coast of Africa, trampled upon by the Janissary and Mameluke—to South America, enslaved by the proud Castilian—to Hindostan, under the sway of Hastings; and to Poland, partitioned and plundered by the Tyrant of the North, and challenge these countries or any person on their behalf, to produce a case of more bitter, grinding, and insulting injustice than to compel the Catholics of this country to pay the tithe of their substance to a Church which, for three centuries, has not ceased to malign and persecute them! Can heaven, my Lord, witness, or the earth endure, anything more opposed to piety and justice, than a man professing to be the Minister of Him “who being rich became poor for our sake”—the teacher of his Gospel, the follower of his law, taking the blanket from the bed of sickness—the ragged apparel from the limbs of the pauper, and sell it by auction for the payment of tithe? Who with patience can hear and behold the hundreds of starving peasants assembled before the seat of justice (oh! justice, how thy name is profaned!) to await the decrees of some heartless lawyer, consigning their persons (for property they have scarcely what deserves the name) to ruin or imprisonment for arrears of tithe? In this group of harassed, hungry, and afflicted paupers, you, my Lord, could recognize the widowed mother and the orphan child—the naked youth, whom individual charity had just clothed, and the common mendicant, whose cabin and rood of earth could not supply them with food and shelter for one-half the year. But to view this assemblage of human misery, which I so often have beheld, and reflect that perhaps a moiety of them were the very objects for whose relief or comfort tithes were consigned by our fathers to clerical trust—that these paupers were the legal claimants on the funds now extorted from them under very colour of law—to consider all this, and that the religion of him who claimed this tithe was a religion unknown to them—that the priest who fleeced them never prayed with them, never consoled them, never ministered for them to Almighty God;—to reflect on all this and yet be silent or unmoved, should not be expected, unless of some atheist, whose god was his belly, or of some fanatic whose heart was hardened, and whose sense was reprobate. These are the exhibitions, my Lord, which I have seen and touched, and which led me, as they have led the best men that Ireland ever saw, not to conspire against tithes, but to denounce them as unjust in principle, destructive of true religion, and subversive of the peace and happiness of our native land. Some man, whose ancestor, a groom, perhaps, or a footman to one of the Henrys or Edwards, and who, raised by the vicissitudes of human things to a place of dignity or power, may look with alarm at the unveiling of those abominations,—he may fear and hate those who expose them, and hold them up as sowers of sedition, and con-

spirators against the abettors of inveterate abuse; but, my Lord, he is unworthy of the respect of men or the favours of Heaven, who would be deterred by such considerations from proclaiming the wrongs and sufferings of the poor, from “declaring to Israel her crimes, and her sins to the house of Judah.” It is not imputations that can subdue the spirit of a man. Let his principles be examined, his assertions investigated, his arguments replied to; but let not the *argumentum ad magnates* be employed as the only confutation of his doctrine. Of what avail is it to stifle opinion by alarming power, by an appeal to privilege, by threats of prosecution? Power may incarcerate the body, but cannot imprison the mind. Privilege can protect whatever is useful to the State; but if it cast a shield over unrighteousness, or bar discussion, it becomes weaker in a little time than the spider’s web. Prosecutions are only powerful when sustained by truth and justice: but of prosecutions, no mention at least in Ireland should perhaps be made. With us they have become a bye-word, or an index of our party feuds, but have ceased to furnish proofs, either presumptive or conclusive, of innocence or guilt. The common sense of the public has ignored those proceedings? but why dwell on this subject whilst writing to your Lordship, for, except the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, there is no person better acquainted than you are with the equity to be obtained by indictments and prosecutions. Your Lordship also recollects the year ’98 and ’99, and how juries and prosecutions upheld that sanguinary spirit which the Legislature, of which your Lordship was a distinguished member, refused to cherish. These juries and prosecutions, my Lord, have passed away, but the passions which guided them are still alive, nor will, I fear, the present generation witness their extinction.

But to relieve the Tithe system from the charge of impiety and injustice, it is said, “this system is sanctioned by law, and should not, therefore, be denounced;” to which our reply is—Yes! The law sanctions it, but law also sanctioned the burning of witches, the persecution to death of men, women, and children, for following the dictates of their own conscience; law sanctioned the slave trade, and all manner of monopoly, of feudal tyranny, of rapine, prostitution, and fraud. There is nothing in the history of mankind so absurd and iniquitous which might not at one period or another claim the sanction of law. The laws, therefore, themselves may be as replete with error or injustice as any other human institution, and we can obtain their amendment or repeal only by exposing and urging their pernicious effects. There is, I admit, in Ireland, not a law, but a whole code of laws, enforcing the payment of tithes; but they are all unwise, prejudicial to the public interests, and odious, in the last degree, to the entire people, except only the few attached to them by interest, the hope of

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gain, or by a blighting bigotry or stupid fanaticism, which leads them to confound religion with the very poison which mortifies it—which turns its healing influence into a seminary of hatred and source of discord. These laws do exist, but they are the worst remnant of feudalism, and it is the duty of every good man to co-operate in procuring their repeal.

But it is said, "Has not the state a right to support, in Ireland, an Established Church, and if so, why complain of the tithe-laws?" Waiving the question of right, which Governments are too apt to confound with might or power, I say the state has no right to sustain what is injurious to the public good. The right of Government is the interest of the people; there is no right in the legislature of a state to do wrong; the source of their power is the will of the people; their office is a trust for the public good; they confer no favour when they enact good laws or repeal bad ones; and they fail to fulfil the trust confided to them when they neglect the interests of the community over which they are commissioned to preside. Every executive Government or power is identified with the legislature, or emanates from it, so that if the above truths be indisputable as applied to a legislative body, they are not less so as applied to a Government.

The application of the principles thus set down, and which cannot be questioned, is easily made to the case before us; the inference to be drawn is neither obscure nor difficult. But is it then permitted to coerce Government, or resist the law? God forbid. It is criminal to do either, for Government should be honoured, as representing the state, and preserving with a power ordained of God, the rights of all the citizens. But Government should be admonished of its duties, and instructed as to all the grievances of the people. So with law: even bad laws should be suffered, and patiently borne till repealed. All resistance to law is criminal; it goes to the subversion of the state; and unless where natural rights are grossly violated, he who lifts his arm against the law offends heaven. Submission, therefore, even to the tithe-laws, is a duty; but there is a wide difference between that submission and an acquiescence in their injustice, or a co-operation in the enforcing of them. No man can be innocent and resist the law; but no man is obliged to give money in lieu of tithe.

Let his corn be seized, or his cattle distrained, and if by suffering this law-process he either gratifies himself or draws public attention to the nature and injustice of the tithe system, he only uses his own right. He is guilty of no offence—he violates no law—he offends no Government—he deprives no man of his goods or chattels—he is innocent of all offence before God and man. He who does this may be called a conspirator; and he or those who sympathise with him may be reviled, abused, prosecuted, or murdered; and the murderer or his accomplice before the

fact, or his abettor after the fact, may be so stultified by an inherent bigotry, or so blinded by habitual error in matters of human right, or so agitated by disappointed ambition, by defeated intrigue, or wounded pride, as to impute crime to the innocent and discharge the guilty; but these errors and these passions will vanish, and truth and unchangeable justice, like the word of God, will endure for ever.

But it is said, "If you meddle with or encroach upon church property no other property will be secure." This assertion is employed by two classes of persons; the one class extremely ignorant, who speak of what they do not comprehend, and often with a degree of assurance proportioned to their ignorance. The other class consists of self-interested knaves or their advocates, who know as well as I do that churchmen are not proprietors, yet represent them as such to create alarm in the minds of real owners of property, who are led by this alarm to defend the tithe system, regardless of its injustice, as if it were an outwork necessary to the security of their own estates. There are many of the former class who are incapable of comprehending the plainest truths, and others whose pursuits in life render them unfit to enter upon legal disquisitions; these men must be borne with; but the second class are noxious animals, who never pursue right or avoid wrong, when doing so would compromise their love of "base lucre." It is sufficient, however, for the guidance of the public to know that the State or Legislature has at all times dealt with church property as with a public trust. The holders of this trust, or, as the law-language calls them, the *Usu-fructuarii*, are not the owners of the property, of which they have a life use; and to suppose that any legal modification of the property thus held by them, or of the terms on which they, as trustees, hold it, would affect, even remotely, the ordinary titles by which men hold their estates, is to confound things as distinct as light is from darkness. The real and only question is, whether it be consistent with the public interests in Ireland, that the persons enjoying the use and fruit of church lands and tithes, should not only hold them for life, or a consideration in lieu of them, but also transmit them to their successors?

If the holders of this property were the owners of it, this question could not be raised; for who could challenge the right of a man to transmit his inheritance to his heirs? But if the churchman only enjoy the use and fruit of the fund during his lifetime, who can doubt the right of the state to which the fund itself belongs, to deal with it on the demise of the ecclesiastical incumbent in such manner as the public interests require? To question this right is to deny the high dominion and supreme jurisdiction by which all society is governed and all rights secured. The exercise of this jurisdiction by the State has as much connexion with an invasion of private property,

as if has with measuring the height of the Andes.

The question to be inquired into, therefore, is this, "Whether the amount of Church property in Ireland, and the mode of collecting it in tithe, be, or be not, suited to the country?" No honest man will pretend it is so. The full amount of this property has never yet been ascertained; all the returns made respecting the Bishops' lands, and the rentals of them, are fallacious. These lands are supposed to amount to two-elevenths of the entire kingdom; and the bishops, in all their zeal to disprove this estimate, have never made, nor caused to be made, a survey of their possessions, or even furnished a single satisfactory return of either the condition or extent of their lands. Then, as to the incomes of the Sees—which incomes consist, for perhaps the greater part, of renewal fines—they are calculated, if I understand the returns rightly, not by their real amount, but by the amount of rents exclusive of fines. The estimate of their value can be more justly appreciated by the quarter of a million of money, which not one, but several of those bishops have been enabled to amass from their sees in a few years, after maintaining the charitable institutions which bear their names, and exercising [that hospitality for which they are, or have been so distinguished. Dr. Elrington is represented by this writer in the *Dublin Evening Post* to have said that the average income of the clergy from tithe in the county Carlow was 384*l.* a year. Admitting this average, which is equal to 500*l.* a year in England, and which does not include glebe lands, it may be asked, can Ireland afford to pay this sum to a class of men who render no service or make no return to the vast majority of those who pay them? Can Ireland, the poorest country in Europe, support the most affluent and luxurious priesthood which inhabit the earth, a priesthood which does not profess the religion of the people nor minister to the wants of the poor? Is it just that the Elringtons, the Magees, the Knoxes, the Tottenhams, the Jocelyns should enjoy princely fortunes extracted from the industry of this people? that not two-elevenths of the soil of Ireland, but the tenth of all her agricultural produce, and of the capital, labour, and industry employed therein, should be perpetually devoted under the pretence of religion to men who have no title thereto, derived from inheritance, purchase, or public services? Is this just? Is this consistent with the Gospel or with the public good? Is this a system which an enlightened nation can tolerate? Is this the system for whose protection the aid of religion is invoked? This writer whom I combat would represent your Lordship as holding me forth to the censure of your noble colleagues, because I said the Irish nation was always at war with this system, but in my doing so, you are aware I only stated an historical fact recorded in every page of the annals of our country. What I have asserted of

the Irish nation is true of every class and denomination which compose it, excepting only those whom I have before excepted. Not only the original inhabitants of the country, but the great bulk of those settlers who considered Ireland as their country, have ever been at war with tithes. Dean Swift bears undoubted evidence to the temper of the Irish gentry in his time, as it regarded the church. The Vote of Agistment, and the almost last Act of the Irish Parliament, legalizing that vote, prove what the proprietors of our soil, the men most interested in her prosperity, thought at all times of the enormous wealth and exactions of the church. I would blush for my countrymen, of whatever creed or class, if they did not properly estimate the tithe system; and I cannot more properly conclude this letter than by reiterating the prayer already known to your Lordship, "May their hatred of tithe be as lasting as their love of justice." I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient

Humble servant,

† J. DOYLE.

NEW

LONDON-BRIDGE SHOW.

THE opening of this Bridge, by the King, took place on the 1st of this month, the King and his *cortège* going and coming by water. There were, of course, all sorts of splendid and expensive exhibitions; the account fills a whole newspaper: I shall only extract the concluding part, as follows:

The Royal Party, after having seen the aeronauts "aspire the skies," returned in the same order. For a time it was feared that the pleasures of the day might have been abruptly broken off. Large drops of rain fell, and a shower was apprehended, which might have completely drenched his Majesty before he attained the friendly shelter of the tent. The fear, however, was vain, the clouds passed away, and the sun once more looked lovingly upon as gay a scene as in his long existence he ever shone upon. His Majesty once more passed through the long tent, and bearing the Queen's reticule in his hand, scattered, as he went amongst the crowd, medals bearing on one side a representation of the bridge, and on the obverse the arms of the Bridge-Estate Corporation. Their Majesties then took their seats on the Thrones prepared for them in the circular tent, and the repast commenced. Abundant too and tasteful was the provision in the extreme. Every thing that could be desired at the season was laid before the guests, and the wines were choice and excellent as hearts could wish, and your enjoyment of

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them was restrained by no limit except your own prudence.

His Majesty appeared to be highly delighted with the entertainment, and addressed several complimentary observations to the gentlemen of the Bridge Committee, who stood behind his chair.

Upon the right of his Majesty sat the Duchess of Gloucester, the Duke of Sussex, and the Duchess of Cambridge, the Duchess of Saxe Weimar, her daughter, and Prince George of Cumberland.

On the left of his Majesty sat the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and Prince George of Cambridge. Mr. Jones stood behind the King's chair, and Mr. Routh stood behind the Queen's. The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress sat at the table at the right of the Royal table. The Bishop of London said grace.

After dinner (for although the entertainment was not called by that name, every one seemed disposed to make it pass for one)—

The LORD MAYOR rose to drink his Majesty's health. "His Most Gracious Majesty (said the Lord Mayor) has condescended to permit me to propose a toast. I, therefore, do myself the high honour to propose that we drink his Most Gracious Majesty's health with four times four."

The company rose and cheered in the most enthusiastic manner.

His Majesty bowed to all around, and appeared much pleased.

Sir CLAUDIUS STEPHEN HUNTER then rose and said, "I am honoured with the permission of her Majesty to propose a toast; I, therefore, beg all her good subjects here assembled to rise and to drink her health, and that every blessing may attend her Majesty the Queen."

The Lord Mayor then presented a gold cup of great beauty to the King, who said, taking the cup, "I cannot but refer on this occasion to the great work which has been accomplished by the Citizens of London. The City of London has been renowned for its magnificent improvements, and we are commemorating a most extraordinary instance of their skill and talent. I shall propose 'The source from which this vast improvement sprung—the Trade and Commerce of the City of London.'"

The King then drank of what is called the loving cup, of which every member of the Royal Family partook.

His MAJESTY next drank "The Health of the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress;" and

His LORDSHIP, in a few words, expressing the deepest gratitude, thanked his Majesty.

Soon after this toast was drunk, the King rose, it being near six o'clock, and bowing to the company, intimated his intention to bid farewell. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Routh, and the whole of the Committee, followed the King to the Royal Barge. His Majesty again expressed his high satisfaction at the grand scene presented to his view, and at the whole of the occurrences of the day.

Their Majesties departed in the same order,

and accompanied after the same fashion in which they had arrived. The pealing of the bells, the roaring of the cannon, and the shouts of the multitude, once more greeted their ears. Their departure, however, was no signal of general dispersion. The promenade on the uncovered portion of the bridge was continued until eight o'clock by the younger and more active, and more sentimental portion of the company; while those who confessed to a certain age, and did not care to be locomotive, and who in the sunset of their years had arrived at the philosophic conclusion that the universe presents no view so splendid or so enchanting as a well-furnished table and a brimming glass, consoled themselves in the dusky atmosphere and dreary quiet of the tent with the goods which the gods or the Committee (we wish to quote correctly) had provided for them. Those last-mentioned individuals, as John Churchill's song hath it, "made their own joy."

For the others, in addition to the two military bands, there were the Alpine singers, and the man who imitates the whistling of all manner of birds, Michael Boai (the performer on his own chin), and other of the like melodious mountebanks, to amuse all who fancied to listen, and to break the formalities of a simple promenade.

At eight o'clock the great majority of the visitors had disappeared, in humble imitation of the daylight; and senseless indeed must be the heart which does not cherish the memory of the scene that the day displayed, as a thing of magnificence, and grace, and beauty, which during its mortal pilgrimage never may be repeated.

A little wildness in language is excusable in a case like this; but I must caution my young readers, that when they take pen in hand, they must not imitate the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, and "send the heart" on a "mortal pilgrimage." Perhaps the king's words, as above given, are misreported; if they be not, his Majesty might have been advised to say, "sprang," or "has sprung" (which last would have been the most proper), and not, "the source from which this vast improvement sprung."

With regard to this "source," the king was by no means correct in point of fact. The bridge, and its destructive and wasteful approaches, have not sprung out of the "Trade and Commerce of the City of London;" but out of mortgages on the property bestowed on the city by our more frugal and public-spirited ancestors: out of enormous taxes imposed on us who are now

inhabitants of the city, and out of an immense sum advanced out of the taxes of the nation, part of which taxes are paid by the half-starved labourers. If the king had been fairly told all this, he would have received the gold cup with less glee; and, indeed, I hope that he would have disdained to make one upon this occasion. I rent a house in the City of London, and my City-taxes, of one sort and another, are equal in amount to the rent of the house. The City Corporation has anticipated its revenues even more deeply than the government has anticipated the revenues of the nation: the CITY DEBT is greater than the NATIONAL DEBT in proportion to the revenues. In positive amount, it exceeds the debt of the United States of America. Why, then, was this unnecessary work undertaken; why was the Fleet-market work undertaken; why was our church of St. Dunstan's pulled down, in order to erect another a few yards from the spot? Why? Why? Why have wars been begun and carried on for the last fifty years! The why is plain enough; and if it be not, it will be made plain enough, as soon as there shall be a parliament to listen to the statements that will be made to it on the subject.

TITHE PROSECUTION.

THE parsons seem resolved to fight it out. Read the account of the following trial. Look at the sentence. Observe the whole well. The Irish newspapers say that the jury consisted of twelve Protestants. The two gentlemen tried appear to have been Roman Catholics. This is amongst the fruits of the Irish tithe-system; but that system cannot last either in England or in Ireland: it will be put an end to by law. But, in the mean while, those who wish the system put an end to, will here find that, at present, there is no great danger in entering into any combination, to prevent the payment or rendering of tithes. Men may talk together upon the subject; but every man must act for himself: they may agree to in-

demnify each other for losses occasioned by seizures; but they must not enter into combinations to resist the law. They may safely do that which the Quakers do; namely, suffer the seizures to take place; and all resolve not to purchase any of the things seized. They have already done this in Ireland to a great extent, and the Irish newspapers say, that the cattle and other things that have been seized, have been sent to England to be sold! Poor St. Paul and St. James, and the rest of them, never thought that there would come an age of such vast improvements as this. They never dreamed that Christian Ministers would seize the goods of their flocks in one country, and send them to be sold in another.

(Abridged from the Kilkenny Journal.)

On Thursday, Mr. Blanchfield and Mr. Byrne, two gentlemen of Kilkenny, were tried before Judge Johnson. They were charged, 1st, for conspiring with others to compel the Rev. Dr. Butler, Vicar of Burnchurch, to reduce the amount or rate of tithes, payable out of such union; 2d, for conspiring with others to injure Dr. Butler in his property; and 3d, for tumultuously assembling and causing an affray.

When the traversers appeared at the side bar, the empanelling of a jury was proceeded with, and the Crown Solicitor, on the part of the prosecution, objected to a number of names. Mr. Costelloe objected to the course followed by the Crown; every Catholic was objected to.

Counsellor James remarked, that his own local information enabled him to say, that not only was every Catholic juror put by, but also every liberal Protestant.

* The following Jury were sworn, Mr. Costelloe having been permitted, on the part of the traversers, to object to a few Jurors:—

R. Neville, Sydenham Davis, W. H. Hunt, Thomas H. Ball, A. Shearman, John Handy, E. Burnet, John Bryan, Thomas Waring, J. Davis, S. Blackmore, and T. Bayly, Esqrs.

Mr. Scott, K.C., on opening the case, merely said, that the facts were so simple, it was not necessary for him, and neither was it his wish to enter into any statement calculated to make an impression against the traversers. If the evidence were true, no doubt could exist as to their guilt; and he would trust to the sense of his old friend, Counsellor Dixon, on the other side, that he would be equally tem-

* The Judge said, that as the Crown lawyers were not acting contrary to law in their challenge, he could not interfere.

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perate. He claimed the privilege of replying at the close of the evidence, if necessary.

Whitworth Butler, Esq. was then sworn: Is son to Dr. Butler, who holds the parish of Burnchurch; was at home on the 20th of December last; early on that day heard shouting, and the blowing of horns, at some distance; continued for nearly the whole day; about two o'clock saw a vast number of people proceeding from Bennet's Bridge, towards his father's residence; a short time after saw seven or eight persons going towards the house from his father's entrance gate; they went up to the house; had been expecting their appearance; when they reached the house, his father, from a window in front, asked them what they wanted? As he could not hear their reply, he went down to admit them; his father asked them in; they declined, and he was again inquiring what they wanted, when witness saw a crowd going down the avenue, which made him draw in his father and fasten the door; saw the traverser Blanchfield, who was one of the seven or eight who first went down; cannot say he saw Mr. Byrne; the crowd might consist of 1,000 or 1,500 persons; his father asked them a second time from the window what they wanted; after some time a reply was given that they came to demand a reduction of tithe from witness's father; during this time the crowd was shouting and flourishing sticks and huris, and calling out "No tithes;" Mr. Blanchfield was among the crowd at the time; he was one step off his father's door, and one of the seven or eight who made the answer to witness's father; the reply of his father to that answer was, he had not power to make the laws, neither had those who made the demand, and that he never had or would oppress any person in the collection of his tithe; this was received with a groan; the people said they would have an answer; I said they had one, and that my father would exact tithe as long as the law allowed him; I then closed the windows, thinking the people would go away; shortly after I heard some person addressing them, when I looked out and saw Mr. Blanchard standing on the window-stool in front of the house, addressing the people; could hear what he said, it was to the following purport:—That as my father would not give any satisfaction, he would propose a Resolution to them; the Resolution was, that they should not pay tithes to Dr. Butler, or any other person, until distrained for them; he said, whoever is of this opinion will say Aye, and those who were not would say No; five or six said no; said I was glad to see some honest persons in the crowd.

Judge JOHNSON remarked that this was quite unparliamentary.

The leaders seemed not by any means satisfied with that; I believe none of those were, at least the traversers were not, parishioners. Mr. Blanchfield said there must have been some mistake as to the noes. He said he would put the question again, and that not to pay was what they knew they had all before

agreed to, and what he would do himself; the question was then put a second time, which was received with acclamation, nobody said "no;" thinks they were more than an hour; Mr. Blanchfield was on the window-stool when he put the question the first time.

Counsellor Dixon objected to any inquiry as to the return of those persons on a subsequent day, unless it were connected with the *traversers*.

Mr. Scott said it was for this purpose he was proceeding to prove the conspiracy.

The Court would not permit it.

Examination resumed: Was at home a few days after when the second party came to the house; saw neither of the traversers there; saw none of the seven or eight there; saw persons there who had been at the first meeting; witness's father is in England; went there because he did not feel himself comfortable at home; at the first meeting heard the crowd speak of Drohan, his father's proctor; his name was mentioned while Mr. B. was in the crowd. (Mr. Scott asked this question to show the character of the meeting.) Heard the crowd say, "Send Lannan and Drohan out here;" thinks this was before Mr. B. put the resolution; Drohan is not now living; he was murdered since last Assizes; it is since that time his father has left his home.

Cross-examined by Mr. Dixon: Is a magistrate; is anxious to direct disorderly persons to peace and good order; has said Mr. Blanchfield is not a parishioner; does not know his parish; heard not of such a meeting being held in Mr. Blanchfield's parish; Mr. Byrne is not a parishioner of his father's; never heard of such a meeting in Byrne's parish, but a vast number took place in different parishes; cannot say whether he heard of any such meetings; before the seven or eight persons went up to the house, he heard on that morning that a mob would call on his father; did not hear it before that morning.

To Mr. Scott: Does not think that, except the seven or eight, there was a person in the crowd who had not a stick.

To Mr. Dixon: Was at an open window when the seven or eight persons entered the avenue; his father had addressed those before the crowd entered; neither himself or his father felt alarm at seeing the seven or eight persons only approaching; when those were at the door does not recollect having heard shouting from the road; shouting commenced in the morning, and continued to within a few minutes of the deputation going up; his father asked them in; their conduct and demeanor was peaceable and respectful to his father; the deputation said, they came on the part of the oppressed people to demand a reduction of tithe; is sure they used the word demand; his father was here last assizes, and went to England since; from the day of meeting to last assizes, his father remained at home. [Mr. Dixon here said, "So much for the candour of the insinuation given, which the

direct examination was calculated to give."'] It is a fact, that Blanchfield did everything he could to make the people go away quietly, and desired them to commit no violence or wrong.

John Butler examined: Remembers the 30th of December; knows both traversers; saw them both there; both were of the party of seven or eight that first went up to the house.

Cross-examined by Mr. James: Mr. Blanchfield told them not to injure the property, and not even to walk on the grass.

The testimony of this witness closed the case for the Crown; and

Mr. Dixon commenced the defence in an able and eloquent speech, of which the following is a faint outline:—He said it was far from being in his instructions, and he believed far from the wishes of the gentlemen (and gentlemen they certainly were) who were his clients, to impute to Dr. Butler or his sons any but the best and most praiseworthy motives for proceeding with this case. Neither was it their wish that he, in defending them, should utter a word that could tend to encourage the holding of such meetings. He would even say that the traversers' selection of a man of his own known principles to be their counsel should be taken as some evidence that they had not been actuated, in their participation in the business of the Bennett Bridge meeting, by a spirit of disturbance. Neither of the gentlemen was a parishioner of Dr. Butler—no meetings of a similar kind had taken place in their own parish, he presumed, because Mr. W. Butler had sworn he did not hear of any such; and he (Mr. Dixon) could not impute a wrong assertion to Mr. Whitworth Butler, nor imagine any such meeting was held without the knowledge of him who was an active magistrate, and certainly should be considered an interested person on those occasions. Neither would he impute to Mr. Butler a wish to insinuate that such meetings might have been held without his knowledge, though that gentleman's testimony could be so construed; but, as Mr. Butler did not venture to say he heard of any, Mr. Dixon would infer that none were held in the traversers' parish. What, then, brought them into a parish where they were strangers? If no respectable persons attended that meeting, I ask you what might have been the consequence? The country might on that day have been disgraced by some desperate act, and I think I am entitled to tell you, that you cannot consider such conduct on their part as an attempt to compel the clergyman to a reduction of his tithes. What is the worst thing against them? Why, that they demanded a reduction of tithes on the part of those who sent them, and that the crowd by which they were surrounded were guilty of shouting, and of rattling their sticks and hurlers! I ask you, Is it possible to suppose that a large body of "the finest peasantry in the world," (laughter,) such as you and I know them to

be, could collect together, and not shout and flourish their sticks; or is this to be taken as evidence of the criminality of my clients? But the worst of it is, that the crowd called out for Lannan and Drohan; though it appears that if this were a crime, the traversers had nothing to do with it; and it rather appeared that the call was made in consequence of Dr. Butler's assertion, that he had not been apprised for the purpose of laying some acts of oppression at the doors of the proctors themselves. Mr. Blanchfield put a resolution, not saying that we will pay no tithe, but that we will wait till ordered to do so by due course of law. Do the Quakers pay? What would the grand Jury say to Dr. Butler if he sent up bills for their consideration against two Quakers for advising the country against the payment of tithe till distrained? Yet they do so openly, and yet they are not prosecuted, nor is it asserted that their refusal constitutes a threat to compel the Minister to abandon his claim. Will the Jury consider the Quakers not culpable, and at the same time find a verdict against the traversers for coming to the same resolution, and that not till after they had peaceably complained to and remonstrated with the Clergyman. But, indeed, the Quakers were the most guilty party, for let us look to the plain meaning of the resolution. It was not that the people denied the right to collect the tithes at all, but they considered that tithes were exacted to an illegal amount; and that as their petition to have them reduced to a fair standard was refused, they would refer to the law to decide between them and the Minister, whether the amount demanded was what was fair and just. They knew that though the evidence of the proctor might be conclusive in the Bishop's Court, yet in the open and common Courts of Law the people would have an opportunity of showing whether the Clergyman's claims were just. The Resolution, therefore, only said—do not pay till by due course of law you be convinced that the tithes be due; and this surely was not proof of a conspiracy to withhold from Dr. Butler any tithes that he could show he was legally entitled to. Suppose it shall be proved that they attended at Bennet's-bridge before the meeting went to Dr. Butler, and there advised the people to comport themselves peaceably, and not to go at all to Dr. Butler's, but to send a deputation to state their wishes, and that they offered to be of this deputation themselves, provided none but those so appointed would go, and that it was at their instance the people were restrained; suppose those things shall be proved (and, unless my instructions deceive me much, they shall be satisfactorily proved in evidence), will the jury then convict the traversers, or will they not rather be of opinion that they merit the gratitude of Dr. Butler, and thanks as the guardians of the public peace? If these facts shall appear in evidence, we shall be certain of your verdict. You will have to say to one another, we will convict them, though pos-

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essed of abundant proofs of their innocence, and in this case you will find the traversers guilty; or you will do justice to their motives, and acquit them; but whatever will be your decision, I am confident it will be come to with a conviction that you administer justice, and as such to defy even malice. You will recollect that there are persons who think themselves justified in discussing the motives of jurors; you will scrutinize the facts that come before you; you will take the state of the country into consideration; you will look both to the actions and the motives of my clients; you will not suffer yourself to be misled by your feelings; you will fearlessly pronounce a verdict of guilty, if conscience bid you do so—and, if otherwise, you will feel a pleasure in sending the traversers home cleared in character, the good things effected being acknowledged, and rich in the possession of an unspotted fame.

P. Costelloe sworn: Resides in Dublin; knows traversers; recollects the meeting at Bennet's-bridge: saw Mr. Blanchfield in Kilkenny the day before the meeting; at that time there had been other meetings of the kind; heard there would be one at Bennett's-bridge; Mr. Blanchfield mentioned the circumstance in Kilkenny before Messrs. Warren, Mullins, &c. in Mr. Maxwell's shop, and regretted, with other persons present, that the meeting would be held. I went to the meeting, after advising with the Catholic Bishop and others, and I met Bishop Beresford and Captain Power on the road, both of whom said that they were glad to see me go out. From what took place the day before, I expected to see Mr. Blanchfield and the other gentlemen at the meeting; I entreated the people not to go to Dr. Butler's; in consequence of my address, telling them it was wrong to cut timber, as had been done at former meetings, they threw hundreds of sticks into the river; they did so at his instance and that of Blanchfield; Mr. Byrne exerted himself to the same effect; I wanted them not to go to Dr. Butler's; I proposed to have Blanchfield put in the chair; did so as a measure of precaution; Mr. Blanchfield said it would be hopeless to try to make them disperse, but proposed that a deputation should be sent; I offered to go up; Blanchfield desired me not, as it might be misconstrued; I did not go up, and do not know of myself whether the people went into the grounds.

Cross-examined by Mr. Scott, who said he would not do so at much length, as he was certain Mr. Costelloe had made correct statements: a great number of the crowd remained at the bridge; there was a flag with "Repeal of the Union" on it; many of the people went into the public-houses, and did not go up; the day was inclement; members of the government thanked Mr. C. for his exertions; headed no vestry about not paying tithes.

Michael Warren, Esq. sworn: Remembers the meeting; thinks he was in Kilkenny the day before; was in Mr. Maxwell's shop, he

thinks, the day before; believes a proposal was made to Mr. Blanchfield to attend the meeting, as a measure of great utility to the public peace.

Not cross-examined.

Rev. Theobald Butler: Is a Clergyman of the Established Church, and a Magistrate; knows Mr. Blanchfield for seven or eight years; lives in his neighbourhood; never heard he was implicated in any charge that would render him to believe he would implicate himself in unlawful assemblies; does not know Mr. Byrne so well, but never heard of anything but this against him.

Cross-examined by Mr. Scott. Does not think there are men of traversers' class in life would enter into any combination against tithes.

Captain Power: Knows Mr. Blanchfield several years; knows Mr. Byrne's general character; considers Mr. Blanchfield not only a respectable man, but an extremely well-conducted and industrious man; believes Mr. Byrne's character not less excellent.

Case closed for the defence.

Mr. Scott replied at great length. He said the traversers were charged with a misdemeanor, and with having taken part in tumultuous proceedings and combinations to compel the clergy to reduce their tithes. It had been felt by the Attorney-General that if those proceedings were overlooked, there would be an end put so all social order, and the security of property, because they would soon cease to terminate in the peaceable manner this particular meeting had done. The object in the prosecution was not so much to punish as to convince the people of the illegality of these meetings, and the Crown was not sorry to have this opportunity of bringing home such a charge to men of the rank and education of the traversers, who should have known that they could not take the part they did with any security to themselves or the public peace.

The judge in charging the jury, read over the indictment; and, before commenting on the evidence, favoured the court with his opinions on the tithe system. In recapitulating the evidence, he said, that "no man who heard it could doubt there had been a tumultuous and unlawful assembly," but that "the guilt of the prisoners was another question." Their well-supported defence established the fact that they possessed influence. It was fair to concede that that influence was used for the prevention of personal violence; and, in that respect, they behaved in a manner highly creditable to themselves; but was that influence also used for the purpose of compelling Dr. Butler to reduce his tithes; and if so, they were guilty of the charge. His Lordship laid down the law of the case on the several counts of the indictment, and spoke warmly in praise of the manner in which the traversers exerted themselves to prevent mischief to life or property.

After a consultation of about an hour, the

jury brought in a verdict of Guilty on the first count, and of Acquittal on the two last.

The Kilkenny Journal states, that the sentence passed upon Messrs. Byrne and Blanchfield was *twelve months' imprisonment, and a fine of 50l. each.*

CALICO-PRINTERS.

I TAKE the following article from the *VOICE OF THE PEOPLE* (Manchester paper), which calls on the *working classes* to stand firm by one another, and see themselves righted. As the editor observes, *it is high time.* Tradesmen, shop-keepers, are all in the same boat, as to this matter. The *tailors, shoemakers, drapers, grocers, &c.* in the *country towns*, have all greatly profited from the rise in the labourers' wages. How is a shop-keeper to live amongst a starving working people? I heartily agree in all the sentiments expressed in this article, and do most sincerely hope that the precepts and advice of the able and spirited writer will be acted upon.

WM. COBBETT.

Kensington, 4th August, 1831.

THE JOURNEMEN CALICO-PRINTERS.

Again we have to appeal to the friends of justice and the assailed rights of the working man, in behalf of a trade, certainly one of the most deserving of the many which grace the long catalogue of wealth producers. We are sorry for the necessity which has urged us to make this appeal; because among the many sufferers from low wages, and the fluctuations of trade, the calico-printers have been before the greatest, and, because of all who have ever contributed to the necessities of others, they have been the most prompt and efficient. But these are not the only or least claims which they possess upon the sympathy and liberality of their brother-operatives. When an appeal was made to the operatives to form an association for their own protection the calico-printers were early in the ranks; they were warm in their support of it; and, to the moment of their turn-out, they never relinquished the duty which they had undertaken. Could we say as much for other trades, fully as numerous and powerful, the present appeal would not have been needed; and the beggary-spreading reductions which these very trades have suffered, could never have been carried into effect. Oh! the morbid apathy of many of the working classes has brought upon them a woeful retribution. Blest should we feel could we, by any effort, touch the souls of

thousands, who are now morally dead, and cause them to burn with that feeling which hereditary injury should inspire. The oppression of workmen is now become quite systematic,—a mere matter of course. The ear of the public are become so familiar with facts and complaints of starvation, that reductions of 25 and 50 per cent. are accounted a mere bagatelle. But why,—tell us, English operatives,—we appeal not to the low dastardly hireling wretches, who prowl about this manufacturing neighbourhood, but ye who have yet a remembrance of former comforts; ye, in whose breasts there is yet a chord from which the calls of liberty may expect a response,—tell us, why should not such systematic oppressions rouse you to an effort in your behalf? Count your numbers, and you may boast of your millions. Cast up your pecuniary resources—they are inexhaustible. Estimate your strength—it is omnipotent. Yet, in every contest, you are but as grasshoppers. Vanquished, humbled, and subdued, by the feeble but well-directed energies of your leagued and mammon-worshipping oppressors. Domination! domination! is the only motto they recognise. They talk of morals, of justice, and of right: in their actions they blaspheme them. Strangers to humanity, in any of its applications to their own workmen, they can behold with complaisance the misery which their own wanton destruction of the commerce of the country is bringing upon their unfortunate labourers. After all, these men manage to keep up a reputation. But how is it? It is by a feigned show of liberality: it is by bestowing a dribble of the vast emoluments, torn from the flesh and blood, and emaciated bodies of their dependents, upon charitable institutions! Oh! *were the country in that state in which such asylums would be unnecessary*; where—how would they find a cover to shield themselves from disgrace? But, *charitable institutions!* Are we indebted to them for the pittance they dole out for the support of such establishments? No! 'tis they and *their slave-driving practices who have created a necessity for them.* It is intolerable toil, and inadequate support that have filled up our asylums with "the halt, the lame, and the blind;" that have made many a poor man's back to bend, and his hair, while yet in the meridian of life, like theameleon, thrice to change its colour. Operatives! you know this; but why not, *by your actions, manifest your knowledge of it?* Why stand you idle, while there is a war of extermination raging against your race? We repeat it; the late and present attempt to reduce, by wholesale, the wages of workmen is a war of extermination. A war, in which capital, and the influence it confers are arrayed against the flesh and blood—the bones and sinews—the rights and the liberties—the present comforts, and the future prospects of the working man. And we know that, if workmen do not, by the moral force of a great national union of their body, avert the intended blow,

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we know, we say, how the war will terminate; and it is because we dread and abhor such a termination of it, that, with our whole soul, we would call upon workmen, by their love of liberty—by their veneration of right and justice—by their regard for their families—by the duty they owe to themselves, to society, and the posterity who shall succeed them,—by these, and all that can impel the soul to a great and glorious achievement, we would call upon every working man to stand up, to come forward in his own defence. It is time the working man should proclaim to his fellows, "He that is not for us, is against us." Operatives! we have now done our duty; and when the worst comes, do not say we did not warn you. Do not say that we did not, with our whole energy, call upon you to unite for your own protection. If, after all we have said, you should still go on in apathy and indolence, do not, if ever necessity should drive you to crave relief from others, expect from them that mercy which you had not for yourselves. In conclusion, we beg every well-wisher to the cause of good wages, to do his utmost for the support of the calico-printers, who are now out, in consequence of an attempt to reduce their wages to a most extravagant extent.

MEMBERS FOR WINCHESTER.

THE *next* members I mean; and I mean that neither of them shall be a BARING, if *I can help it*. The fellows want to be met face to face by one who despises all their millions; but, I must hear from Winchester, before I be more particular. I intend to be at Winchester on Saturday, the 13th instant, and there I will be on that day, life and health permitting. Hampshire has been oppressed and insulted quite long enough.

WM. COBBETT.

THE PORTRAIT

Is now ready for sale. Those gentlemen who sent their names sometime ago, shall have the Portrait sent to them directly.—The proof prints are 15s.; the other, 10s.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, JULY 29, 1831.

INSOLVENTS.

MALIN, J., Ware, Herefordshire, corn-dealer.
POPE, C., Clifton, Gloucestersh., bookseller.

BANKRUPTS.

ALCOCK, R. H., Coventry, timber-mercht.
BELL, J., Oporto, wine-merchant.
BIRCH, R., Great Longstone, Derbyshire, & New Mills, near Ashbourne, cotton-spinner.
CURLEWIS, H. C., Hanover-street, Hanover-square, tailor.
JONES, J., Newington-causeway, hosier.
KNIGHT, A., Basing-lane, stationer.
LEE, S., High-street, Poplar, victualler.
MILLER, A., Oxford-street, bookseller.
PARSONS, J., Fulham-road, upholsterer.
POYEL, J. W., Wimborne-Minster, Dorsetshire, plumber.
VANZELLER, J., Great Winchester-street, merchant.
WACE, D., Newgate-street, grocer.
WRIGHT, J., jun., Nottingham, jeweller.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DOUGALL, J., Edinburgh, cloth-merchant.
MARTIN, W., Blackford, banker,

TUESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1831.

INSOLVENT.

MORRIS, R., Lawrence-lane, City, wholesale linen-draper.

BANKRUPTS.

DAVIES, T., Swansea, Glamorganshire, rope-maker.
DAVIS, J. R., Liverpool, merchant.
DIXON, P., Newbury, Berks, tea-dealer.
GRAVE, T., jun., Hales Owen, Salop, inn-keeper.
HINCLIFFE, J., late of Leicester, machine-maker.
HUTCHINGS, J., late of Carnaby-street, Golden-square, tinman.
LOMAX, J., Houghton Bottoms, Lancashire, calico-printer.
LUNDIE, R., Kingston-upon-Hull, wine-merchant.
PARNELL, S. J., late of North Audley-street, Grosvenor-square, auctioneer.
PARRY, W., Liverpool, slater and plasterer.
RATCLIFF, J., Aston, Warwicks., victualler.
REES, T., Crumlin, Monmouths, shopkeeper.
STATHAM, T., sen., Clunton, Salop, cattle and sheep-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

MACQUEEN, D., boot and shoe-maker, Edinburgh.
M'LAREN, R., wine-merchant, Edinburgh.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, AUGUST 1.
—Arrivals of English and foreign wheat, including 100 quarters from Scotland, and 39 quarters from Ireland; as also English and foreign, including 100 barrels from Ireland, have been, since this day sennight, moderately good; of other kinds of corn as well as malt, pulse, and seeds, from all quarters, but limited,

This day's market was, for that of a Monday, very thinly attended, both by London and country buyers—by fewer of the latter than have been for a long time seen in it.—It was indeed denominated, both by buyers and sellers, on account of the ceremony of opening the new London bridge—"a complete market holiday."—The little business transacted, in each kind of corn as well as flour, malt, pulse, and seeds, was at but little, if any variation from last Monday's quotations, which remain unaltered, though it was the pretty general opinion that if any-thing like extensive sales could have been effected, an abatement of several shillings per quarter would have been submitted to.

Wheat	57s. to 66s.
Rye	34s. to 38s.
Barley	24s. to 32s.
— fine	33s. to 42s.
Peas, White	36s. to 42s.
— Boilers	36s. to 42s.
— Grey	—s. to —s.
Beans, Old	36s. to 42s.
— Tick	36s. to 40s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 32s.
— Poland	24s. to 28s.
— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	50s. to 55s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 42s. to 48s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 42s. to 48s.	
Pork, India, new... 132s. 0d. to 135s. 0d.	
Pork, Mess, new... 65s. to 67s. 6d. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 84s. to —s.	
— Cork 78s. to 80s.	
— Limerick .. 80s. to —s.	
— Waterford.. 80s. to —s.	
— Dublin —s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire.... 64s. to 84s.	
— Gloucester, Double.. 66s. to 72s.	
— Gloucester, Single.. 32s. to 46s.	
— Edam 46s. to 48s.	
— Gouda 44s. to 48s.	
Hams, Irish..... 50s. to 60s.	

SMITHFIELD—August 1.

In this day's market, which exhibited about an average time of year supply, both as to numbers and quality, the trade was, throughout, very dull.—With beef at a depression of full 2d. per stone: with mutton, lamb, veal, and pork, at barely Friday's quotations. Beasts, 2,404; sheep and lambs, 26,900; calves, 280; pigs, 230.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 5.

The supplies this week are good; but the prices of the best samples are full as dear as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cous. Ann. }	82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½ 82½

COBBETT-LIBRARY.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

2. An ITALIAN GRAMMAR, by Mr. JAMES PAUL COBBETT.—Being a Plain and Compendious Introduction to the Study of Italian. Price 6s.

3. COTTAGE ECONOMY.—I wrote this Work professedly for the use of the labouring and middling classes of the English nation. I made myself acquainted with the best and simplest modes of making beer and bread, and these I made it as plain as, I believe, words could make it. Also of the keeping of Cows, Pigs, Bees, and Poultry, matters which I understood as well as any body could, and in all their details. It includes my writings also on the Straw Plait. A Duodecimo Volume. Price 2s. 6d.

4. The ENGLISH GARDENER; or, a Treatise on the situation, soil, enclosing and laying out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-beds and Green-houses; and on the propagation and cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard. And also, on the formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens. Price 6s.

5. THE WOODLANDS; or, a Treatise on the preparing of the ground for planting; on the planting, on the cultivating, on the pruning, and on the cutting down, of Forest Trees and Underwoods. Price 14s. bound in boards.

6. YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA.—The Price of this book, in good print and on fine paper, is 5s.

7. PAPER AGAINST GOLD; or, the History and Mystery of the National Debt, the Bank of England, the Funds, and all the Trickery of Paper Money. The Price of this book, very nicely printed, is 5s.

To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

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